

UNIVERSAL HISTORY

A SUMMARY

OF

UNIVERSAL HISTORY.



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OF THE



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A SUMMARY  
OF  
UNIVERSAL HISTORY;

IN NINE VOLUMES.

EXHIBITING

THE RISE, DECLINE, AND REVOLUTIONS OF THE  
DIFFERENT NATIONS OF THE WORLD,

FROM THE CREATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

---

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF

M. ANQUETIL,

MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF FRANCE, AND CORRESPONDENT OF  
THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND BELLES LETTRES.

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VOL. VII.

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OF

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## A SUMMARY

OF

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## EUROPE.

LEAVING Africa, that vast peninsula, with the interior of which we are totally unacquainted, and with the coasts are acquainted only imperfectly, we turn with pleasure to Europe, where, instead of deserts and wild beasts, we find cultivated fields inhabited by men. In Europe we no longer tread upon ruins like those which cover Asia in its state of decrepitude and Africa laid waste, but behold flourishing cities, which announce that this part of the world is still in the vigour of life. Science and the arts have here fixed their abode; and if virtue does not always belong to the people by whom it is inhabited, their laws, police, and religion, form a curb to vice, which renders it less daring. Europe alone supplies more matter to modern history than all the rest of the world; but it is to be apprehended that

Europe, between the Black Sea, the Mediterranean, the Atlantic Ocean, the Frozen Ocean, Russia, and Asia.



facts, which resemble each other too much, may not possess variety enough to render them interesting. The Europeans, by crowding together within their circumscribed limits, have effaced the character imprinted on them by nature. They have modelled themselves after each other in regard to manners, politicks and wars; and even in their governments may be observed a feature of uniformity, which of all these nations seems to form only one.

### SPAIN.

Spain, a peninsula between the Mediterranean and the Ocean, joined to the continent by France.

SPAIN, separated from Africa by a very narrow strait, forms the commencement of Europe; but it would appear as if it had once been in danger of being cut off from it and of forming an island of itself. The reader must recollect that in the time of the Carthaginians and the Romans, Spain was divided into independent states. The Romans, who had there rendered themselves powerful, retained some parts under their dominion, while the rest were invaded by the Suevi, the Goths, the Visigoths and the Vandals. The dominion of these people, who destroyed each other, was succeeded by that of the Moors; who, however, did not unite the whole of the peninsula under their laws. The Moors were at length expelled from it, and the whole country became subject to Ferdinand and Isabella; but as if its provinces were still one

## UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

one day to be separated, they have retained the appellation of kingdoms, and under the same sceptre a difference of customs, usages, and laws.

Spain has been rich in mines of silver, a metal Productions. which it at present goes in quest of to the extremity of the globe. Gold also was found in it formerly. The soil is almost every where exceedingly fertile. It is intersected by beautiful rivers, which contain plenty of fish. Amidst its delightful plains arise mountains covered with trees of every kind, and in some cantons pierced by caverns, which present to the astonished traveller scenes awefully grand. It supplies abundance of animals for the chase; not, indeed, of the ferocious kind, like Asia and Africa, but those of the more temperate climates, such as wolves and bears. The sky is serene, and the air mild. The heat, without being excessive, is however sometimes too violent to be agreeable; but the earth produces a remedy: oranges, lemons, and other cooling fruits in abundance. It produces also honey, oil, and excellent wine.

The Spanish wool is highly and justly esteemed. Flocks. The ~~sheep~~ which produce it wander about continually, during the summer, over the mountains, and in winter through the warm pastures of the southern provinces. A flock generally consists of ten thousand, and is entrusted to the care of forty shepherds, who are under one chief. These chiefs keep up a mutual correspondence, that their flocks

## UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

may not meet or interrupt each other in their progress. They all receive their orders from a general chief, who is accountable to the proprietors. Some of these have forty thousand sheep, which produce annually six thousand pounds of wool, at the least. These wandering flocks form a total of five millions, the greater part of which belong to the king.

Character.

In Spain there are reckoned to be not more than ten or eleven millions of inhabitants. In the character of the Spaniards there are generally two prominent features: astonishing patience under misfortunes, and a haughtiness which makes them submit to evils rather than to humiliation. Their sobriety and aversion to intoxication may be traced back to the remotest antiquity. They are exceedingly devout, or we may rather say superstitious; but the terror inspired by the inquisition renders them excusable. This tribunal is more severe in Spain than at Rome. One might be astonished to see men of the first rank assume the title of *familiars*, that is to say, spies or runners of the inquisition, did we not know that fanaticism ennobles every thing in the eyes of those who are infected by it. The Spaniards are taxed with being rodomontaders, that is, with boasting of their courage beyond what is real; but if they boast, it is not without reason, and a thousand instances might be cited in which the Spanish bands have exhibited proofs of the greatest valour. They are firm



and undaunted soldiers; and exceedingly delicate in regard to the point of honour. The boasting with which they are reproached arises, perhaps, from their language; as it is grave, sonorous, and sometimes emphatic.

The masters of the mines of Potosi are exceedingly ill clothed in the country; and their houses, badly furnished, exhibit too evident proofs of their wretchedness; but this poverty, though more than apparent, they prefer to opulence which they might easily acquire by labour. No pleasure to a Spaniard, and particularly one of those who in towns are known by the name of the populace, is equal to that of doing nothing. The inns exhibit as few signs of opulence. They afford nothing but a shelter in common with the mules, their conductors, and various beasts of burthen. The traveller must carry every thing with him, or when he arrives go himself in quest of drink and provisions, which he may think himself happy if he can find; and next morning the landlord, as if he had taken a great deal of pains, presents a bill for the noise he made, and the trouble he gave him.

The bull fights are peculiar to Spain, and form the favourite amusement in the great towns. A bull, rendered furious by being pricked, is let loose in a kind of theatre, where a horseman with his lance couched stands ready to receive him. If the horseman misses his blow the bull seldom fails to rip up the horse's belly; by which means

Bull Fights.

the rider is overturned, and sometimes severely wounded. Before the bull is overcome, several *taureadors*, that is to say, bull-killers, are frequently carried from the theatre half dead, amidst shouts of applause from the spectators. It is difficult to conceive what pleasure the Spaniards can find in this sort of butchery. It is true, indeed, that the women go thither well dressed, and the men disperse themselves in the balconies to pay their respects to them. This is enough to enable us to guess whence arises, and what perpetuates, a taste for this amusement among a polite nation, who estimate valour by temerity. The Spaniards are said to be jealous; but this reproach appears to me unfounded; and if we may be allowed to judge of a people by their theatre, almost all the Spanish pieces, even those that imitate our ancient mysteries, and in which are introduced the sacraments and ceremonies of the church, are founded on some quarrel of jealousy.

The princes of the Goths, Suevi, Visigoths, and Vandals, reigned either together or separately in Spain, from the middle of the fifth century to the commencement of the eighth. During that long period the provinces of Spain, or at least the courts of these princes, were always agitated by religious quarrels. Some of them were Arians, and others Catholics. Sometimes the two religions succeeded each other rapidly in the same

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place. The bishops had great influence. Councils were frequent; civil as well as ecclesiastical matters were discussed in them, and they produced wise regulations in regard to morals and police, which contributed to give splendour to the empire of the Goths and Visigoths.

The reign of the latter in Spain began about the year 466. They went thither from the south of France, where their sovereign, Theodoric I. who came from Italy, had formed a powerful kingdom, of which Thoulouse was the capital. Theodoric left this crown to Thorismund his eldest son, who was killed by Theodoric II. his youngest, as the latter was by a third brother named Euric.

History,  
Visigoth  
kings.

Euric extended, in France, the kingdom of his father, and subdued the provinces between the Rhone and the Loire. After these conquests, having learned that the remainder of the Romans, the ancient masters of Spain, and the Vandals of Africa, were disputing in that country for the supreme authority, he sent thither his victorious troops; shut up both in the extremities of it; took possession of the most beautiful provinces; and, returning to France, established his abode at Arles. Spain was committed to the care of governors, who were sent thither by the Visigoth princes of France.

Theudis, a great Visigoth lord, was invested with that dignity at the time when the direct



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line of Theodoric I. became extinct by assassinations. The Visigoths of Spain elected him king in 531; but he was assassinated, and no one can tell for what reason. Theodofiles, his successor, experienced the like fate, because he was cruel and dissolute. Agila, whom the murderers placed on the throne, fell also by the dagger of assassins, at the moment when about to give battle to Athanagild, who had been raised as a competitor against him. The latter reigned with peace and glory; for he had no children but daughters, who were married at a distance from him.

The troubles excited by the succession of this prince gave occasion to the election of Liuva, being one of the descendants in the collateral line from Theodoric, who, after the extinction of the direct line, had inherited the states of Gaul. Liuva having the choice of two crowns preferred that of Gaul; and, about the year 572, gave that of Spain to his brother Leovigild.

Leovigild, in his life-time, caused his sons, Hermenigild and Recared, to be acknowledged as his successors. This monarch openly favoured, if not preferred, Arianism. Hermenigild was a zealous Catholic. This difference of religion gave rise to a quarrel between the father and the son. They proceeded to hostilities; and, after an unsuccessful battle, Hermenigild fell into the hands of his father, who put him to death.

Under this king the Gascons deserted Spain,

and went to establish themselves in France; but he obtained other subjects by subduing the Suevi, who had possession of Lusitania. Leovigild, it is said, was just, but at the same time ambitious; thus possessing two qualities which are incompatible. He was a legislator, and caused his laws to be executed with inflexible rigour. He had a happy talent of forming conjectures; and it is remarked, that it was this ability which rendered him the conqueror of the Suevi, whose throne was less firm, and as much stained with blood, as that of the Visigoths. Brothers assassinated each other; the great deposed their kings, and the prevailing religion was in a state of fluctuation, being sometimes Catholic, and sometimes Arian. Leovigild arriving in the midst of these troubles overturned the government, and took possession of the kingdom in 584.

His son Recared carried with him to the throne of Spain a reputation for talents and bravery, acquired by seconding his father in the wars in which he had been engaged. Having declared for the Catholic religion, on account of which his brother Hermenigild had lost his life, the Arians conspired against him. He escaped, however, the plots which they laid for him, and having punished them enjoyed a peaceful reign till the year 601. During the following century the crown of Spain remained as if suspended by a thread,

moving over heads who, as it may be said, only felt it.

Recared was succeeded by his son Liuva II, who being assassinated, his murderer Viteric was proclaimed in his stead. After a reign of some years the latter was stabbed; and Gundemard, legally elected, a prince of great hopes, died at the end of three years. A nobleman named Sisebut was then chosen to fill the throne. He was fond of letters, but no less warlike, and carried his victorious arms into Africa. The people were so well satisfied with his government, that, on his death, his son Recared II. was appointed to succeed him; but he lived only a short time. During the twenty years that Sisebut reigned, his brother Suinthila, or a son or near relation of Sisebut, acquired such a reputation for talents and courage, that, after the death of that prince, he was elected king. In 623, he entirely destroyed the dominion of the Romans in Spain, and expelled the most powerful of his enemies. After a reign of twelve years, rendered illustrious by virtues, believing himself secured on the throne, he became vicious and was deposed. He was declared unworthy of the crown, and his children incapable of reclaiming it.

His subjects substituted in his room Sisenanid, who suffered his predecessor to live: a circumstance rather remarkable. He was succeeded by



Chintila, who enacted a law, that whoever, during the king's life-time, endeavoured by forcery to discover the period of his death, should himself be deprived of life. Chintila drove the Jews from Spain, and left the crown to Tulga his son; who, on account of his youth and some faults, was deposed. An old man, named Chindasuinth, who associated with him in the government his son **Recesuinth**, was appointed his successor. Notwithstanding the efforts made by a faction of malcontents, who were displeased to see the latter sway the sceptre of his father, he maintained his authority and made himself be beloved. The people wished to have a king chosen by this prince; but he refused the invitation given him for that purpose.

After the death of Recesuinth, in 656, the electors found themselves embarrassed in regard to their choice. The suffrages were united for Wamba, a nobleman whose age, virtues and experience, afforded great hopes of a good government; but he declared that, as he was better acquainted than any other person with his own talents, he neither could nor ought to accept the crown. One of the electors, however, addressed him as follows: "In turning our eyes towards  
" you, we have not been guided by any other  
" motive than the public advantage. You pretend  
" to prefer your own repose, and the sweets of  
" an independent life, to the good of your coun-

“ try. Whoever persists in refusing to contribute  
“ towards it, is as much an enemy to the state,  
“ as he who endeavours to hurt it.” On concluding this speech, he clapped his hand to the hilt of his sword, and threatened to run him through the body if he refused to accept the crown. Wamba was, therefore, induced to comply.

This prince realised the hopes which had been conceived of him. He was attacked by his rebellious subjects, but he defeated them and granted them pardon. The mildness of his disposition induced his enemies to make a perfidious attempt against him. Erviga, the great grandson of Hermenigild, who became a martyr to the catholic faith, with a design to recover the sceptre wrested from his great-grandfather, caused a potion to be administered to Wamba, by which he was thrown into a state of delirium. During the fit his hair was cut off, and he was clothed in the dress of a penitent. On recovering his senses, he found his head shaved and that he was covered with a frock. Some historians pretend that his reason never entirely returned, or that he did not make complete use of it; as he submitted, without murmuring, to the law which declared every man who had assumed the monastic habit to be degraded for ever from the royal dignity. It is believed that he was not sorry for this event, as it allowed him to deposit a crown by the weight of which he was fright-

ened, and which he had assumed only against his will. He resigned it without much difficulty to Erviga, who caused himself to be confirmed on the throne by a council in 683.

After a wise government of four years, the latter, through a scruple of conscience, and by way of reparation, caused his head to be shaved; assumed the monachal habit, and resigned the sceptre to Egiza, the nephew of Wamba. Egiza, on his promotion to the throne, had also scruples which were removed by the decision of a council. His son Witiza was confirmed on it by another assembly of bishops. The suffrages of these prelates did not inspire that prince with either reason or virtue. He is accused of extravagance and profligacy. When the former is carried to excess, it is generally accompanied by the latter. In his fits of intoxication, Egiza did not respect even the most distinguished characters. Count Julien, a nobleman of his court, had a daughter of rare beauty, named la Cava. Witiza made an attempt on her honour, and Julien, highly incensed, invited the Saracens from Africa. They arrived under the command of the one-eyed Tarif, the general of Musa, governor of Mauritania, who was himself the lord lieutenant of Valid, the caliph of Damascus. As there were a great many African Moors among these Syrian troops, it has been customary to call these Mahometan conquerors Moors. Witiza was not a witness to their success. It is



not known how he died, or how Rodriguez succeeded him. The latter saw the Spanish sceptre escape from his hands and from those of the Visigoths. It was decided by a battle fought in 711, in the plains of Xeres, during which Rodriguez disappeared. Some say that under the disguise of a hermit he retired to conceal his grief to the frontiers of Portugal, where he lived unknown, while the Moors, taking advantage of their victory, subdued his kingdom.

Moorish  
kings.

Musa being informed of the success of his general Tarif, hastened to Spain at the head of an army, enlarged by a report purposely spread in Africa, that the plunder of the towns would be given up to the soldiers, and that the conquered lands would be shared among them. This multitude he divided into three bodies. The first, under his son Abdalaziz, received orders to subdue the coasts of the Mediterranean, while the second was to subdue those on the ocean. The third, commanded by himself, under Tarif, he destined for attacking the interior parts of the kingdom. Terror preceded them; and the towns, wherever they appeared, surrendered without resistance. None escaped the sword or slavery, but a small number of the most distinguished of the clergy or the nobility, who fled to the most inaccessible places of the mountains.

Abdalaziz, a mild and amiable prince, treated with great kindness the inhabitants of the district

which had been assigned to him. His father Musa, on his return to Africa, entrusted him with the government of all his conquests, which he ruled with that prudence of which he had already given proofs. By this indulgence he offended the captains of his own nation. They suspected that he wished to make himself absolute master, by the assistance of the Spaniards whose friendship he courted; and, on that account, they caused him to be assassinated. His successor carried on an incessant war, and left to the Visigoth noblemen nothing of their ancient monarchy but a few barren and mountainous districts, in the most beautiful country of Europe.

In 718, the refugees assembled in the horrid caverns of Asturias, and made choice of a king descended from the family of their own princes. Don Pelayo, the sovereign whom they elected, united prudence with valour. He began the war with a handful of soldiers, but men of bravery and resolution. Always victorious, and never elated by his success, he advanced with the utmost circumspection. In proportion as he expelled the Moors from his neighbourhood, he secured his conquests from any sudden invasion, by surrounding the cities with fortifications. In this manner were formed the small kingdoms of Oviedo and Leon. The Moors endeavoured to set boundaries to this aggrandizement. The efforts made by the two parties, the one to advance and the other to

## UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

check, continued seven hundred years, amidst continual warfare. Sovereignities, which covered Spain with kingdoms, governed sometimes by Mahometans, and sometimes by Christians, were established in the course of this long interval. The history of this period is a real chaos of military expeditions and intrigues. A few shades excepted, all these events have a resemblance to each other. It will, therefore, be sufficient to select a few of the most striking facts; but as those who traverse desert regions erect signals that they may again discover their route, we shall intersperse a few dates that we may not wander entirely at random.

Spanish  
Kings.

Don Pelayo left his throne already established to his son Don Favila. The nobility, after the death of the latter which happened in 739, elected his brother-in-law Don Alphonso I. who shewed himself worthy of their choice, and extended his kingdom. His son Don Froila obliged the ecclesiastics to abandon their wives, and defeated the Moors. He was exceedingly severe, and much dreaded by his people. Being jealous of his brother Bimaran, who made himself beloved, he stabbed him with his own hand, and was himself assassinated in his turn. He was succeeded by his cousin Aurelio. As he left no children, and as his brother Bermude was a deacon, his place was supplied by his relation Silo.

After his death, which took place in 785, the nobility chose for his successor Don Alphonso II.



the son of the cruel Froila. The character of his father proved injurious to him. The people beheld him on the throne with repugnance; and his uncle Mauregat, profiting by this disposition, seized it for himself. This prince caressed the Moors, and was a great friend to Abderamen, called Miramolín. This connection gave offence to his subjects; but he nevertheless reigned in peace. When he died they would gladly have restored Don Alphonso to the throne; but the electors, dreading his resentment, were guilty of a new act of injustice towards him by choosing Bermude, the deacon, in whose stead his relation Silo had been before substituted. Bermude seems to have accepted the crown, merely that he might give Don Alphonso time to efface the prejudice which had been conceived against him. As soon as he found it removed, though he had children of his own, he resigned the crown to Don Alphonso, in 791.

This prince is known in history under the name of Alphonso the Chaste, and to this title might be added the Victorious; for he often triumphed over the Moors. His subjects, however, frequently revolted, and he was even imprisoned. When freed from his confinement he gained the affection of the people by his clemency, and continued to be victorious over the Moors. Being advanced in years he abdicated, in 842, in order that he might spend a few years in tranquillity, and he recom-

mended to the electors his cousin, Don Ramirez. The latter, harassed by rebellion, was not so indulgent as his predecessor. He was less beloved, but he acquired equal consideration by his successes against the Moors. The esteem in which he was held paved the way to the throne for his son Ordogno I. The latter on his death, in 866, left his kingdom, more extensive than he had received it from his predecessors, to his son Alphonso III. surnamed the Great.

He acquired this title after having been put to the test by adversity. He was driven from the throne, almost as soon as he had ascended it; but being soon after recalled, he always surrounded it with the splendour of his victories. They did not, however, banish domestic miseries, which are always those most sensibly felt. Don Garcias, his son, revolted. The father, irritated, confined him three years in prison. This severity excited murmurs against him. The queen his mother, and Don Ordogno his brother, loudly demanded the release of the captive, and shewed that they were in a condition to make their request be granted. The old king, seeing that the flames of civil war were about to be kindled, assembled the states of the kingdom in 910. His two sons being present, he addressed the states as follows: "During the course of a long reign, my whole labour has been to promote the happiness of my people: towards the end of it, I shall not

“ alter my conduct. Since Don Garcias is invited to the throne by your wishes, I shall resign to him my crown, and give Gallicia to Don Ordogno.” This conclusion was not expected. The children, embracing the father’s knees, conjured him to retain the diadem; but he continued firm in his resolution. He survived this scene two years, and made a glorious campaign against the Moors, whom he did not go to combat but with permission of his son. We are indebted to Don Alphonso for a chronicle of the kings who preceded him.

Don Garcias, who had been so much wished for, did not answer the expectation of his subjects. He was brutal and severe, and died very little regretted. His brother, Ordogno II. who succeeded him, being on the contrary open and affable, made himself universally beloved in the commencement of his reign; but his good qualities were not lasting: his temper became peevish, apparently by the reverses he experienced in a war against the Moors. He grew cruel in his court, and unjust in his family, which he filled with trouble by divorcing his wife, who did not deserve such treatment. He had two sons, Don Alphonso and Don Ramirez; but neither of them succeeded him. The crown was conferred on his brother Froila, who lived only thirteen months.

After his death, recourse was had to the sons of Ordogno; and Alphonso, the youngest, was



proclaimed. Scarcely had he assumed the reins of government when he declared that he believed himself incapable of managing them. He, therefore, resigned them to Don Ramirez ; but before six months had elapsed, on the instigation of some of the nobility, he wished to resume them. Three of the children of his uncle Froila made pretensions also to the throne, and levied troops to support them. Don Ramirez took his brother and his three cousins prisoners, and caused their eyes to be put out. He humbled the turbulent spirit of the counts of Castille, who arrogated great privileges, and conquered a Moorish king, from whom he required homage ; after which he abdicated the throne in order that he might see it in the peaceable possession of his son, Ordogno III. The counts of Castille bore with great impatience the yoke imposed on them by Don Ramirez. Ordogno had married the daughter of Ferdinand de Goncales, one of the most powerful among them. The bands of this marriage, which were drawn closer by policy than love, became relaxed at the sight of Elvira, the daughter of a Gallician lord, with whom the monarch was captivated. He divorced, therefore, the Castillian wife, and married the Gallician, who brought him a son named Don Bermuder. The Castillians gladly embraced this opportunity of asserting their liberty ; and under pretence of avenging the insult offered to their princess, they took up arms. Or-

dogno died in the course of this war; and the Gallician finding that she had only one son, an infant, made a bargain for the crown with Don Sancho, her husband's brother. He did not enjoy it in peace. Don Goncales, the Castillian, opposed to him Ordogno IV. the son of Alphonso the Blind. The latter married the Castillian who had been divorced; and who thus a second time became queen of Leon, which was then the seat of the Spanish kings. Ordogno expelled Don Sancho: the latter had recourse to Abderamen, king of Cordova, a Mahometan prince, by whom he was restored. Don Ordogno, who has been surnamed the Bad, went to conceal himself among other Mahometans, and was never more heard of. Under Don Sancho the Normans landed a second time on the coast of Spain. This prince died by poison, in 964.

The nobility, wishing to govern, placed on the throne his son Don Ramirez III. who was only five years of age. He reigned with tranquillity as long as he was under the tutelage of the queen his mother, and an aunt named Donna Elvira. These princesses found means to restrain the great, without openly offending them. They procured a spouse for the young prince; but thinking himself liberated by this marriage, he neglected their advice, and incurred the displeasure of the nobility. The latter assembled and elected Bermude II. the son of Ordogno III. the husband of Elvira the

Gallician. Don Ramirez hazarded a battle against him, and died after he had lost it. Bermude was extremely unfortunate against the Moors. They took and destroyed Leon his capital; but he gained afterwards the celebrated battle of Osma, in which, it is said, a hundred thousand men remained dead on the field.

After his death, which happened in 1014, the nobility still enjoyed the pleasure of having an infant to place on the throne. The regency of his mother was happy; and Alphonso V. when freed from the restraint of tutelage, conducted himself like a great prince. He rebuilt his capital; and inspired his subjects with courage against the Moors, who re-appeared in great force. His sudden death threw the kingdom into consternation; but the excellent qualities displayed by his son, Bermude III. restored the confidence of the people. Unfortunately he perished in a battle against Ferdinand, king of Castille, who had married Donna Sancha his sister. The male line of Recared, the Catholic, ended in Bermude III. The states of Leon and Oviedo assembled, in 1037, conferred the crown on Don Ferdinand, king of Castille, the husband of Donna Sancha, the brother-in-law and conqueror of Bermude. These kingdoms had been more than three hundred years under the same family.

Castille.

It is believed that the name Castille arose from the castles which the noblemen, who took shelter



in this part of Spain, during the invasion by the Moors, built here to shelter themselves from their attacks. At first they lived as if in a republic; or at least they had a common council which decided in regard to peace or war. For deciding private disputes they elected judges; and these were succeeded by counts, who became, but in what manner it is not known, vassals to the kings of Leon. It has been seen that they were turbulent and little accustomed to subjection: the last of them was assassinated. Don Sancho, king of Navarre, who had married his heiress, took possession of Castille and erected it into a kingdom. He gave it to Ferdinand his son, who, as has been said, added to it the crown of Leon.

If it has been fatiguing to see such a long series of kings passing rapidly before the eyes like optical figures, it would be much more so to fix the looks with attention on the confusion which followed. It will be sufficient, therefore, to take a general view of it, and to point out occasionally the most striking particulars.

We see already in unfortunate Spain four Christian kingdoms: Gallicia, Leon, Oviedo and Castille; but the Mahometan, among which were, Cordova, Seville, Toledo, Valencia, Saragossa and Huesca, were more numerous. There was scarcely a town of any importance which did not assume the title of kingdom. The southern part, the most fertile, most agreeable, and most extensive, was in the possession of the Moors; while

the Christians had the northern, which was rugged, mountainous, and less opulent, but much easier to be defended. Each had behind them auxiliaries, whom they called in to assist them in case of need. The Moors procured theirs from Africa; which by a passage of four leagues supplied them with destroying hordes. The Christians derived theirs from France, which furnished a less number, but men well trained to war. Religious zeal increased the rivalry of both parties, as well as the hatred which kindled the flames of discord in Spain, and covered it with ruins and dead bodies for five hundred years.

Ferdinand I. being seated on the throne of Castille, as already said, united to it that of Leon, in 1037, both by the suffrages of the states, and in virtue of the right of his wife Donna Sancha. By the mildness of his government, he acquired the affection of his new subjects, as he had that of the old. He attacked the Moors; and rendered tributary the kings of Toledo, Saragossa and Seville.

Under his reign the Christians, as if not satisfied with the religious animosity they had against the Moors, created a new one among themselves, on account of the liturgy. One of the pope's legates was desirous of introducing that of Rome, and of rendering it exclusive. Many of the bishops endeavoured to preserve the old, which was called the Mosarabic. This opposition of opinions

gave rise to disputes which were not terminated under Ferdinand. This prince, to whom historians have assigned great prudence, shewed a singular want of it on his death-bed. He formed his states into three kingdoms, which he divided among his three sons. Don Sancho had Castille; Don Alphonso, the second, Leon and the Asturias, and Don Garcias, the third, Galicia and Portugal, which was not yet a kingdom.

The three brothers soon raised their standards against each other. The result of their combats was, that Alphonso remained alone, and distributed to the heirs of his brothers such part of their states as he thought proper. Portugal then, that is to say towards the year 1096, acquired the form of a kingdom. It was then also that the Almoravides arrived in Spain. These were an Arabian tribe, whom the petty Moorish kings in Spain called in to their assistance against Alphonso, who threatened to destroy them. But they found Joseph, the chief of the Almoravides, more dangerous as an auxiliary than Alphonso had been formidable as an enemy. This chief signified to those whom he came to assist, that there was no better method of defending themselves, than all to unite under his command, and on pretence of protecting, he reduced them all to obedience. Alphonso regulated his conduct by the same system, in regard to the petty Christian kings. The two great chiefs came to a trial of strength several

Almoravides.



times; Alphonso lost the last battle, but the victory cost the Moors so dear that they derived no advantage from it. Alphonso had among his officers Le Cid, whom the greatest of our tragic poets has rendered so celebrated. This monarch outlived five of his wives, but his eyes were closed by the sixth. He left his states of Castille and Leon to his daughter Donna Urraca, the wife of the King of Arragon, and Galicia to her son, named Alphonso, whom she had born in a former marriage.

This haughty, domineering princess affected to consider her spouse in Castille only as the first of her subjects. It appears that this husband was of a mild and pacific disposition. By his insinuations, and the advice which he caused to be given to the queen, he endeavoured to make her sensible of her duty towards him: but she was acquainted with no other duties than those which were due to herself. The misunderstanding between them proceeded to an open rupture. Urraca banished from her court those whom she thought well affected to her husband. Her husband recalled them. Urraca incensed, pretended to have some scruples in regard to her marriage, as the degree of consanguinity between them was not very remote. This was a sufficient excuse for her to leave the palace. A reconciliation was afterwards effected; but she found herself treated with so much coolness that she retired once more. On

this occasion, however, she levied troops, and the husband and spouse were each seen, at the head of an army, combating under the walls of Burgos. The queen sustained a defeat, but was not disconcerted; and she caused her son to be proclaimed king of Castille, though, according to the testamentary disposition of his grandfather Alphonso, he was not to assume that title till after the death of his father-in-law, the king of Arragon.

Armed with the right she had procured to her son, the queen re-commenced the war. She assembled a council, and rendered the members sufficiently compliant to declare her marriage void. Being always insatiable of authority, Urraca affected to exercise in Gallicia, of which her son was sole monarch, the same power as in Castille. The Gallician nobility did not acquiesce in her wishes; and this gave occasion to a new war. It did not, however, proceed to a battle. By mediation the mother and son were reconciled, and prevailed on to live in friendship with each other.

It appears that Urraca's disgust for her husband was not extended to all men. She had the mortification of seeing her favourite, count de Larva, carried away before her eyes. This insult, and other causes, renewed the quarrel between her and her son. She pretended that he held the kingdom of Gallicia only as a dependant on her; and she often exercised there her authority in a manner highly unpleasant to the young prince.

It is believed that, harassed by these contests, and the effects produced by them, he caused her to be arrested, and that she died of an abortion, in 1126. Another account says, that she was struck dead on coming out from a church, the treasures of which she had carried away in order to renew the war. Her son immediately accommodated matters with his father-in-law, who readily restored to him the places he possessed in Castille.

Alphonso  
VIII. 1137.

Alphonso VIII. exerted himself to repair the breaches occasioned by so many divisions in the royal authority, a great part of which had been usurped by the nobility. He repulsed also the Moors, who had not failed to take advantage of these discords. By the victories he gained, he acquired the title of Emperor of Spain; a title never used by any one but himself.

Sancho III.  
1157.  
Ferdinand  
II. 1158.

His son Sancho, who reigned only a year, died greatly regretted, leaving a child three years of age exposed to the dangers occasioned by those who disputed for the government under his name. He was called Ferdinand. His uncle, named Ferdinand also, was one of his competitors. The young prince grew up in the midst of these troubles; and his uncle abandoned his pretensions, or did not pay much attention to them, being employed with the care of confining the infidels within their own limits. He was assisted by two orders of knights which were formed at this period. The first was called the order of Calatrava,

Orders of  
Calatrava  
and St.  
James.



The city of that name was threatened with a siege by the Moors. The Templars, who had it then in their possession, not thinking themselves sufficiently strong to repel the enemy, abandoned the place. The king declared that he would give it to the first gentleman who would undertake to defend it. An old gentleman, named Diego Velasquez, threw himself into it with an abbot named Raymond. These two men inspired the inhabitants with so much courage that the city was saved; and they established there, under the rules of the Cistercians, a new order, to which they gave the name of Calatrava. That of St. James, another military order, had a very whimsical origin. A great number of young gentlemen, who, by the licentiousness of war, had been rendered capable of every excess, retired to the mountains of Leon to avoid the pursuits of justice. Don Pedro Fernandez, whom they had appointed their chief, being no less reprehensible, took it into his head to form these libertines into a society destined to combat the infidels. Having become soldiers of religion, they found themselves in virtue of the privileges of this new state beyond the reach of justice; and the object of their activity and courage being changed, they rendered themselves useful to their country. Men, indeed, might become more beneficial to the public on many occasions, could

means be devised for giving a proper direction to their talents.

Alphonso  
IX. 1175.  
Henry I.  
1214.

Chivalry, at this period, was in great vogue; and kings, by its means, formed a sort of fraternity. Ferdinand had been succeeded by his son Alphonso IX. He had a glorious reign, and was celebrated for his wisdom. The king of Leon considered it as an honour to be dubbed by him, and to receive the title of knight. In this ceremony the candidate kissed the hand of him who conferred the distinction. Alphonso wished to convert this politeness into an act of homage; and this circumstance gave rise to a war. How circumspect sovereigns ought to be in the most trifling actions! This monarch left the crown to his son Henry I. then a minor, under the tutelage of his eldest daughter Berengera. Henry having lost his life by an accident, Berengera caused herself to be acknowledged in his room, and resigned the sceptre to her son Don Ferdinand, whom she married to Beatrix of Swabia.

Ferdinand  
III. 1217.

Ferdinand III. has been surnamed the Holy, on account, as appears, of his zeal for the Christian religion and of his success, and because he was as fond of converting the infidels as those whom he conquered. Under his reign the archbishopric of Toledo acquired those rich possessions, which render the prelate who holds it the most opulent of all those beneficiaries who are

not sovereigns. It was indebted for them to the conquests which one of its archbishops gained from the infidels. Ferdinand resigned them to this prelate, in order that they might be united to the possessions of his church.

The surname of Wise has been given to his son **Alphonso X.** Alphonso X.  
1252. This quality, however, is belied by several of his actions, which afford no great proof of wisdom. He persisted a long time in retaining the title of emperor of Germany, which the Germans had conferred on him at a period when they were embarrassed to find another chief. On this account, he intended to have undertaken an expedition which might have been extremely burthen some to Spain; but his subjects, who were more prudent, opposed it. Alphonso quitted also his kingdom several times on journies of little importance, while his states were attacked by the Moors. He left the defence of it to his son Sancho. This confidence gave the young prince a taste for authority, which he manifested too plainly by assuming, in his father's absence, the title of Regent. The father obliged him to abdicate; but the misunderstanding between them continued, and increased to such a degree, that the father and son had recourse to arms. The old monarch disinherited his son, and in his will loaded him with a malediction, which he, however, retracted on his death-bed.



Don Sancho  
IV. 1284.

Don Sancho, who succeeded him, was only the youngest of his children. He had an elder brother named Don Ferdinand, who died in the prime of life, and left by his wife, Donna Blanche, the daughter of St. Louis, two sons, Don Alphonso and Don Ferdinand, called de la Cerda. As sons of the eldest brother, the crown belonged to them; but Don Sancho had caused it to be destined for himself by the states, which assembled at a time when his armies were superior to those of his father. These states decreed, that, as Don Ferdinand had died before the king his father, and as his children were not the sons of a king, Don Sancho, born, as it were, upon the throne, ought to inherit it. Alphonso did not give himself much trouble to get this decision set aside, though it was passed without his consent. He believed it to be sufficiently annulled by his latter will, in which he disinherited Don Sancho; but as he retracted the dispositions made in his will before he died, Don Sancho continued to assert his authority, in consequence of the decision of the states, and assumed the sceptre. The la Cerdas fled to Arragon with Blanche their mother, and Yolanda their grandmother, who did not think it proper that her youngest son should deprive of their right her grandsons, the children of the eldest.

The nephews, as they grew up, must, no doubt,

have beheld with grief the usurpation of their uncle ; but, notwithstanding their desire to recover their right, they were induced, by the circumstances of the time, to listen to an accommodation, which they entered into under the guarantee and protection of France. Don Sancho gave the kingdom of Murcia to the children of the la Cerda, on condition of their doing homage to the crown of Castille. An indemnification so unequal was not capable of affording them satisfaction, and the mal-contents of Castille, who were extremely numerous, always found the la Cerda disposed to join them. Don Sancho had still another cause of uneasiness in the pretensions of one of his brothers, named Don Juan, to whom their father, in the will which he abrogated, had bequeathed the kingdom of Seville. Don Sancho left him a part of the authority, but without the title of king. Being always uncertain in the possession of property unjustly acquired, this monarch caused his son Ferdinand to be crowned when only a year old. This young prince was but ten years of age when his father died. Don Sancho IV. was surnamed the Brave.

The mother of Ferdinand IV. was Donna Maria, one of the ablest and most virtuous princes that ever occupied the throne. At the death of her husband she found herself under great embarrassment, as the legitimacy even of her son was disputed. Her marriage was declared to be

Ferdinand  
IV. 1295.

void on account of too near consanguinity ; and she was obliged, in her widowhood, to send to Rome for the dispensation which she was reproached with having omitted.

To judge of her merit, it will be necessary to form a proper idea of the difficulty of her situation. Surrounded by princes and turbulent lords, who often succeeded in making her son withdraw his confidence from her, she regained it by her mildness and affection, as she acquired the esteem of the people by her affability, justice, and the good order in which she preserved public affairs. The monarch was never so happy as when he followed her advice ; and he often paid very dear for the fault of deviating from it. This prince, who had little command over himself when in a passion, refused to hear the justification of two brothers named Carvajal, who had been accused of some crime. He condemned them to be thrown from the summit of a steep rock. On the edge of the precipice they summoned Ferdinand to appear, within thirty days, before the tribunal of God. Some days after the monarch found himself indisposed, and died on the last day of that period.

Alphonso  
X. 1312.

The queen when she lost her son had the satisfaction of employing her care on the education of Alphonso, her grandson, who was only three years of age. She superintended it till he was twelve ; and died, as she had lived, with senti-



ments of sincere and unaffected piety, and the reputation of having even heightened the splendour of the royal dignity by that of her virtues; but afflicted at leaving her pupil surrounded by cabals and intrigues. She, however, gave him salutary advice, which was soon attended with the most beneficial effects.

At the age of fifteen, Don Alphonso took into his own hands the reins of government, and managed them with firmness as well as dexterity. Such of the nobility as he thought dangerous, and whom he could not gain over to his interest, he put to death. Though he did not adopt this severe measure till he had sufficient proofs of their infidelity, he is culpable for having employed the dagger of the assassin, rather than the sword of justice. He had one lawful wife, who brought him a son named Don Pedro; but he lived with her on very cool terms. His whole affection was centered in Leonora de Gusman, a widow of great beauty, by whom he had a numerous issue, of whom Henry de Transmare was the chief. We do not find that any great efforts were made under this prince against the Moors. The two nations being a prey to intestine divisions, suffered each other to remain at peace. Alphonso died before Gibraltar, to which he had laid siege.

He was succeeded by Don Pedro, who has been surnamed the Cruel. The first mark which he gave of cruelty was, in some measure, com-

Don Pedro  
the Cruel.  
1356.

manded by his mother. She was not able to forgive Leonora de Gusman for having deprived her of her husband's affection, though the beautiful widow had openly declared that she never aspired to the king's hand, and though she made this protestation at a time when it was proposed to obtain the crown for her by a divorce, to which the king was inclined. Besides, the favourite had always shewn a great deal of respect for the spouse; but these marks of attention had less influence on the mind of the queen than the remembrance of her injuries. She prevailed on her son to sacrifice her rival, who was killed embracing her children. This is the first stain in the annals of Don Pedro, which are afterwards written with blood.

Don Pedro was unacquainted with forgiveness; and he never spared any one by whose death he could allay his fears or fill his coffers. On this subject a singular anecdote is related. A petty Mahometan king, dreading the power of his arms, offered to come and do homage in his presence. He arrived with a numerous train, richly dressed and superbly ornamented. The sight of this booty, which could be obtained only by the commission of an atrocious crime, excited the avarice of Don Pedro. He received the homage, and then, on a pretended violation of an article in the treaty, declared a criminal this sovereign who had become his vassal; after this he ordered the prince with his whole retinue to be conducted

out into the fields, where being all massacred, he seized on the spoil.

Don Pedro assassinated relations, allies, ministers and favourites, without distinction. No person near him was in safety; yet this ferocious soul was susceptible of love. He became enamoured of Mary Padilla, a young lady of quality, whom her relations, infamous courtiers, introduced to him, in order that they might profit by her influence as his mistress. While his breast was filled with this passion, Don Pedro espoused Blanche of Portugal, a rich heiress. Some pretend that he gave her his hand merely that he might take it from a Castilian lord to whom it had been promised. He never saw this Portuguese lady but on the day of his marriage and two days more in the same week, after which he banished her to one of his castles, where she led a melancholy life for three or four years. He, at last, put her to death; and no motive can be assigned for this cruelty, but the desire of freeing himself from the expences of her imprisonment.

She was soon followed by Padilla. A natural death saved, perhaps, the inconstancy of her lover from the commission of a crime; but the worst may be conjectured of such a monster. If we may judge by the regret which he testified for her loss, she had not become indifferent to him. In order that he might legitimate her children, he pretended that he had espoused her before his



marriage with Blanche. Three witnesses of the ceremony remained; the fourth, he who had inflamed the heart of the prince with this unlawful passion, met with the punishment of his crime from the brothers of Padilla. Being jealous of the favour which this friend of the prince enjoyed, they employed the influence of their sister to get him first removed and then put to death.

It is astonishing that a king so thirsty of blood should have spared his own brothers, the children of Leonora de Gusman, and in particular the eldest, Henry de Transtamare. Providence, without doubt, preserved this avenger. Having escaped, at the time when his mother was put to death, from the hands of Don Pedro, who had even given him a kind reception, he retired to Portugal; but the king of Castille soon repented of his indulgence. He employed every method of insinuation or violence to get his brother delivered up to him. As Henry did not think himself in safety, he proceeded to France, where he arrived at a favourable moment. Charles V. whose wisdom had re-established his kingdom agitated by the civil wars, was at that time greatly embarrassed by the banditti who infested it. Proclamations were issued, with the monarch's consent, inviting to the conquest of Spain, where an immense booty might be procured, all those who wished to engage in the expedition, and pointing out a place of rendezvous. This allurements collected all these

adventurers under the standards of Bertrand du Guesclin and Count de la Marche, who were appointed the chiefs of the expedition. Some English officers, ambitious of acquiring glory, embarked in it also.

Don Pedro was not able to resist the impetuosity of these veteran bands, who placed Henry on the throne of Castille. Expelled from his kingdom, Don Pedro adopted the same expedient as his rival, and repaired to Guiënné, to Edward, surnamed the Black Prince. To counterbalance the glory of the French, Edward did not hesitate to give him a body of troops. Henry was obliged to fly in his turn; and went back to France, his only resource. This measure was attended with success; for as he had faithfully discharged the promises made to his auxiliaries, he found new ones. The two brothers met, in 1369, under the walls of the castle of Montiel, each at the head of an army which was to decide their fate. The combat was not of long duration. Don Pedro's troops gave way on the first charge. The prince took shelter in the castle, but being incapable of holding out long there for want of provisions and water, he proposed to Du Guesclin, who had returned to take part in this expedition, a large sum of money to suffer him to escape. Either through mere confidence, or under the guarantee of certain conditions, Don Pedro repaired to the tent of the French general. Henry entered it at

the same time, accompanied by a strong guard, and having saluted his brother with a stab of his dagger, he was soon dispatched by his escort.

If we wished to lessen the odiousness of this brutal cruelty, it might be said that Don Pedro had spared none of Don Henry's relations, who fell into his hands; none of those lords attached to his brother, nor any of their wives and children. He even feasted his eyes with the pleasure of seeing them expire. Having caused one of his brothers, the son of Leonora de Gusman, to be killed in his presence, he ordered the body to be conveyed into another apartment that he might sit down at table with composure. Could any one believe, who reads an account of the numerous assassinations which he committed, that this monster was only thirty-four years age when he died? He left behind him a hundred and fifty millions in gold and silver: a prodigious sum for that period, without including an immense treasure in jewels. Mary de Padilla was not his only mistress, as we know of two others by whom he had children.

Don Henry  
II. 1369.  
Don John  
1379.

Don Henry assumed the title of king of Castille. He rewarded, in a noble manner, the foreigners who had assisted him, and retained as many of them in his service as he could, in order to overawe the Castillian lords, as well as the princes, who wished to attack his right, which, indeed, was not very legal, since there still remained some of the descendants of la Cerda, who had a better



title to the throne. He filled it with glory for ten years, and left it, fully established, to his son Don John. Not satisfied with so noble an inheritance, this prince made pretensions to the crown of Portugal, in right of a princess whom he had espoused. The disputes which took place, in consequence of this claim, gave rise to wars. The people were necessarily sufferers by them; but when we consider the composition of the armies, it appears that the hostilities were not very ruinous.

Their force consisted chiefly in companies of *Chivalry*. horsemen, though each horseman had foot soldiers attached to him; they were, however, fewer in number than when every man in the country was obliged to quit agriculture in order to hurry to battle. A reciprocity of certain duties was also established by the laws of chivalry. The knights took an oath that they would save women and children; that they would respect sacred things, and spare those who made no defence. These knights were not only faithful to these laws themselves, but thought their honour concerned in causing them to be observed by those whom they assembled under their standards.

The ferocity of the military character was softened also by gallantry, which formed the basis of chivalry much more than religion. Except in battle, the Mahometan and Christian knights considered each other as friends; and enjoyed in each

others castles the rights and pleasures of hospitality. Their principal occupation was to go in search of perilous adventures, which when they could not find, they often created. One would send a challenge to another, requiring him to confess that the beauty of his damsel was superior to that of his own. It was not uncommon to see some of these knights retire, through discontent, to the states of an enemy; the Moors to those of the Christians, and the Christians to those of the Moors.

Some Castillian knights, who were in that situation, requested leave to return home. Don John received them with kindness; and, as they spoke to him of their skill in managing horses, he wished to see them manœuvre. The charger on which the king was mounted, becoming animated by a sight of the rest, ran away with his rider; stumbled so awkwardly that he threw the prince, and falling upon him, crushed him to death. Such was the unfortunate end of this monarch, worthy of a better fate; celebrated for his beneficence, his justice, and his love for his people. At one period, he was so much chagrined at not being able to render his subjects as happy as he wished, that he was almost tempted to resign the crown.

Don Henry  
III. 1390.

Don Henry III. his son, was only eleven years of age when he succeeded him. The treasury was burthened with the maintenance of six princesses; mothers, sisters, aunts, and cousins, without reckoning the children of Peter the Cruel,

who were indeed illegitimate, but it did not become the grandson of Transamare to start any objections on that head. They were all supported with magnificence. When Henry came of age, he was desirous of making some retrenchment in the splendour of their establishments; but his parsimony excited disturbance. What remains to be said of Castille, till the time when, by its union with Arragon, it formed only one kingdom is, in general, nothing but the history of a family law suit, prolonged during a whole century. The possessors of these crowns had no sooner agreed respecting one point, than new pretensions occasioned new disputes, or suits as already said, the issue of which depended not, as among individuals, on the validity of titles, or the eloquence of counsellors, but on the force of arms, and their skill in employing them.

Henry III. died by poison at the age of twenty-eight. We are unacquainted with the cause of this crime; but the author of it was a Jewish physician. It is not improbable that it was owing to some medicine improperly administered. It is easy to be deceived between a medicine and poison. This prince was beloved, and deserved to be so. He was the more regretted as he left for his heir an infant, fourteen months old, named Don John. The king, on his death-bed, had recommended him to his brother, Don Ferdinand, who did not deceive his hopes. He indignantly

Don John II.  
1408.



spurned at the insinuations of the nobility, who incited him to assume the crown himself. He reserved it for his nephew, and undertook the tutelage of the young prince, conjointly with the queen mother. Unfortunately, however, the queen did not long enjoy the assistance she derived from the advice of a prince so disinterested: he was invited to the throne of Arragon. The queen continued to educate her son, and to instruct him in the best manner possible, amidst the cabals by which she was surrounded; but she did not live to see him capable of governing by himself. Don John was only twelve years of age when she died. He fell into the hands of one of his cousins, who, under the pretence of placing him in safety, detained him a prisoner; but he was liberated by Don Alvarez de Luna, constable of Castille, who became his favourite and adviser.

The grandees, observing how much power the constable acquired over the mind of the king by this service, and dreading the constable's talents, conspired against him. It appears that Don Alvarez was a grave austere man, and had not the art of pleasing the queen, princess of Navarre. She educated the prince of Asturias, her son, in sentiments very little favourable either to the constable or the king. This prince was the scourge of his father: he took up arms against him in concert with his mother; made him prisoner; set him at liberty; got him into his possession once

more, and again released him. Don Alvarez was never wanting in his duty to the king on these critical occasions; and the malcontents, who always found their measures opposed by him, when they approached Don John, represented to him that the authority which he gave to the constable was the cause of all their revolts. By remonstrances and imputations they found means to alienate the monarch from his favourite. In a conference between the father and son, which was conducted by the constable himself, with a view of endeavouring to bring about a peace, it appears that the two princes made mutual sacrifices to each other of those whom they hated or feared. In consequence of this interview, many of the nobility, on both sides, were arrested, proscribed and executed.

Don Alvarez, being abandoned by the king, was carried before a tribunal who condemned him to death. It appears that there was some reality in the grievances with which he was reproached; but who is there whose conduct, if rigorously examined, after having long been in possession of great authority, would appear pure and spotless? When the sentence was read to him he said: "I have merited still more by my sins;" and observing from the scaffold a domestic of the prince of Asturias, he called him, and desired him to tell his master not to follow the example of the king his father, in rewarding his old servants.

The scaffold was hung with black; and a crucifix was seen upon it between two lighted flambeaux. Don Alvarez having prayed with great devotion, lay down calmly on a carpet as if he had been composing himself to sleep; the executioner then plunged a dagger into his breast, and cut off his head. He had governed the king and the kingdom with absolute power for thirty years: he is generally considered as a state victim, whose whole crime was that of being the very able minister of a weak prince. Don John died a year after his favourite, and left by a second marriage a son and a daughter, named Don Alphonso and Donna Isabella, whom he recommended to the prince of Asturias, their brother, called Don Henry who succeeded him.

Don Henry  
IV. 1454.

This prince, who had so much disapproved of his father having a favourite, and who under that pretence made war against him in concert with his mother, had one himself, named Bertrand de la Cueva. He even did more: he recommended him to his spouse. Some assert that he was impotent, and that the queen, with his consent, became the mother, by this favourite, of an infant, named Donna Jean. The king celebrated, with the utmost splendour, the birth of this child, who was declared heiress of Castille. This affectation was an additional motive for suspecting her legitimacy; and some even did not spare to call her openly *Bertrand, little Bertrand*. Don Henry



did not succeed in his view of re-establishing himself in the public opinion by keeping a mistress; this only introduced one more source of disorder into his court.

It was the theatre of contention between two favourites, Bertrand de la Cueva, of whom we have already spoken, and the marquis de Villena. It appears that the king took a pleasure in exciting them against each other, by giving to the one and his friends the spoils of the other and his partisans, according as he honoured them with, or withdrew from them, his favour.

Villena at last gained the superiority: it was natural that he should endeavour to thwart the views of Bertraneja, the reputed daughter of his rival; but he apparently had reasons for being favourable to her, and in order that he might remove an object which engaged the attention of the great, to the prejudice of the queen's daughter, he proposed to Henry to give his sister in marriage to the king of Portugal. Isabella, who, perhaps, had some previous idea of the great fortune which awaited her, replied that she would not marry without the consent of the states of Castille. She resided with Alphonso at the court of the king their brother. Villena caused them to retire from it; and, either to intimidate the monarch, or to gratify his spite, because he did not find him so compliant with his wishes as he expected, he favoured a league which had been

formed against Henry, and which his weakness induced him to despise. The malcontents deposed him in an assembly held at Placentia, and made choice of Alphonso to succeed him.

Villena, who did not wish perhaps to carry matters so far, refused to subscribe the act of deposition. This refusal irritated the archbishop of Toledo, his uncle, the principal promoter of the intrigue. The marquis fearing that he should lose the good graces and rich succession of the prelate, who was in a very declining state of health, pretended to be ill; received the sacrament, and made a will in which he recommended to the archbishop his wife and his children. This confidence of the nephew appeased the uncle. The king recovered the favour of the cabal by whom he had been deposed; on promising his sister to Don Pedro de Giron, Villena's brother; and Isabella, who was in the hands of the marquis, might, perhaps, have found it difficult to avoid this marriage, had not Giron died when going to celebrate the wedding solemnity, for which every preparation had been made.

The league still continued: the king levied troops, and an indecisive battle took place. Some towns returned to their allegiance to the sovereign, but what fixed him firmly on the throne was the death of young Alphonso, which is said not to have been occasioned by unfair means, though it was sudden. The malcontents made an offer

of the crown to Isabella. She thanked them for this mark of favour, but contented herself with the title of heiress. The king was affected by this moderation, but not so much as to induce him to consent to the marriage of the princess with Ferdinand, son to the king of Arragon. It however took place, though Villena did every thing in his power to prevent an alliance by which Isabella was to be freed from her dependance on him. To counterbalance the credit of the princess, and the power which she might acquire in the kingdom, the favourite advised the king to procure for Bertraneja a husband who might be able to maintain her rights. It was believed that they had found such a husband in the duke de Berri, the brother of Louis XI. Jean was betrothed to him though absent, but he died before the marriage was celebrated: it became necessary therefore to look out for another. The one made choice of did not seem to promise so powerful protection; but he still might be able to occasion great disturbance in Castille, which was agreeable to the wishes of Villena. He accordingly brought from Arragon a prince of the blood of Castille, who lived in a state of obscurity in that kingdom. He arrived, was not approved, and retired just at the moment when about to be dismissed.

As Villena had not found in the prince of Arragon a husband proper for Donna Jean, he repaired to Portugal to negotiate a marriage between her



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and the sovereign of that kingdom. During his absence, the king of Castille paid a visit to his sister and Ferdinand her husband; he not only caressed them as a relation, but conferred on them distinguished marks of honour. Villena, who was informed of this circumstance, being still master of the king's will, though at a distance, inspired him with such prejudices against the husband and spouse, that if the princess had not made her husband save himself speedily by flight, and if she herself had not found a safe asylum in the citadel of Segovia, her brother would have caused them both to be arrested. A severe indisposition, with which the marquis was attacked in returning from Portugal, delivered Isabella from this dangerous enemy. His son succeeded him in a part of his dignities and the good graces of the king, but he did not long retain them. Henry IV. surnamed the Impotent, appointed Donna Jean his heiress.

This prince is said to have been pious and religious, but his conduct towards his father, his indolence, and his want of application, obscured too much his good qualities, if he really possessed them. He enabled his favourites to make fortunes, and ruined his subjects. Without being cruel, he shed torrents of blood, by his acts of imprudence. If Jean was not his daughter, why did he appoint her his heiress? And if he was really her father, why did he not defend her better? The

most favourable opinion which can be formed of this prince is, that if he wished to be a good king he made no effort to become so. "His life (says a certain author) is a mirror, in which sovereigns may learn what they ought to avoid in order to reign with glory."

The death of Henry IV. produced the union of Castille and Arragon. The Christians, whom the Moors, when they invaded Spain, had driven from their conquests, were collected in the mountains of the latter kingdom, which is situated at the bottom of the Pyrenees. They fortified and maintained themselves there against the efforts of their enemies, under the government of chiefs whom they chose, and to whom they gave the title of counts and princes. In the beginning of the twelfth century Don Sancho, the great king of Navarre, made himself master of Arragon, and when he gave this province to Don Ramirez, his son, he dignified it with the title of kingdom.

Arragon.  
Don Sancho  
the Great,  
1135. Don  
Ramirez,  
Alphonso  
the Valiant,  
1152.

No part of Spain has been oftener exposed to war with the infidels. It was perpetual between the Moors, who endeavoured to enlarge their boundaries, and the Arragonefe, who opposed to them the insurmountable barriers of their rocks and their valour. After remaining a long time on the defensive, the Christians led to battle by Alphonso the Valiant restrained in their turn the Mahometans. This kingdom acquired then a great

increase by the addition of Catalonia and the county of Barcelona.

Alphonso II.  
the Chaste,  
1163.

It was about this time also that the kings of Aragon entered France. Alphonso II. surnamed the Chaste, took possession of the county of Provence in the right of Berengere his mother, who was the heiress of it. He freed his crown from the homage it owed to that of Castille for the possession of the city of Saragossa, and confined the Moors within the kingdom of Valencia, which he attacked. He had violent quarrels with the counts of Thoulouse, and died in Roussillon, at the town of Perpignan, which was under his dominion.

Don Pedro,  
1196.

His son Don Pedro was so devout as to render his kingdom tributary to the Holy See. This submission procured him the title of the Catholic, which has been transmitted to his successors. Princes at that period piqued themselves on a kind of piety which at present would not be much admired. Don Sancho Ramirez, while besieging the city of Huesca, the capture of which he had much at heart, sent his son to France to assume the habit of the order of St. Benedict, persuaded that his conquest would be hastened by the protection of the saint, which he would thereby obtain. We are told also that the queen, spouse of Don Pedro, being in labour, caused to be lighted in her chamber twelve wax candles, to which she gave the names of the twelve apostles, with an in-



tention of naming the child after that apostle whose candle should be last extinguished. That of St. James having burnt longest, she gave the name of Don James, or Don Jaymo to the son whom she brought forth. Don Pedro assisted in the war against the Albigenes, not only with his means, but by his personal exertions. We must say in his praise, that he was ashamed of the disorders of the catholic army, which had a legate at its head, and that he endeavoured to put an end to the barbarities it committed. He died in France like his father.

He left a son six years of age, which occasioned trouble to the regency and the government. While the rivals in authority were disputing with each other, Don Jaymo had the happiness to fall into the hands of Montaigu, grand master of the Templars, who placed him in safety in a fortress, and gave him an excellent education. The young king was made to marry a princess of Castille, in order to procure him support against the nobility of his kingdom. One of the young monarch's uncles, who was at the head of these intractable grandees, got his nephew into his possession, and confined him in prison. The king, however, made his escape, and in his turn wrested the authority from his uncle, who was abandoned by his partisans.

Don Jaymo  
1213.

By the princess of Castille, he had a son named Don Alphonso. He became tired of the queen,

and his courtiers then found out that she was related to him in the fourth degree. The marriage was accordingly annulled, but Don Alphonso was acknowledged as legitimate. These prohibited degrees were a great resource for disgusted husbands, when they were able to secure the interest of the court of Rome, as Don Jaymo did by gaining over the legate. He afterwards married Yolanda, a princess of Hungary.

The king of Navarre being displeased with his nephew, Thibaut, count of Champagne, adopted as his heir the king of Arragon, but having become reconciled with the former, he begged the latter to renounce his right of adoption. Don Jaymo did so with the greatest magnanimity, and by these means he obtained efficacious assistance from Navarre and France for a kind of crusade he had undertaken against the kingdom of Valencia. He took the capital, and his success gave a fatal blow to the power of the Moors. He is blamed for the injury he did to these people, because he had been under some obligations to them in his moments of misfortune; but are kings bound to be grateful?

By his Hungarian spouse Don Jaymo had a son named Don Pedro, whom he appointed his heir together with Don Alphonso, whom he had by the princess of Castille. The partition which he made between them did not give satisfaction to both parties, but the dispute was terminated by the death of Don Alphonso. Don Jaymo's

fondness for partitions, however, sowed the seeds of discord among his three sons born of Yolanda. To the eldest, Don Pedro, he assigned Arragon; to Don Jaymo, the second, Valencia, with the islands of Majorca and Minorca; and to Don Ferdinand, the third, Provence, and his other states in France.

The old monarch, besides these three princes, had a great many more children, both male and female. He was far from being regular in his morals. After the death of Yolanda, he espoused a widow named Theresa de Vidaure. He entered into suits at law with the Spanish ecclesiastics. The pope threatened him with excommunication if he continued. He had already been engaged in a serious affair with the court of Rome, by the punishment of a bishop who had been his confessor, and whose tongue he caused to be cut off. Was this prince afraid, or did he punish him for his indiscretion?

Don Jaymo, though he had to combat with the infidels at home, wished to go in search of them to the Holy Land. He engaged therefore in the crusades, but never undertook the journey. Being fond of travelling, he visited Italy, and went several times to France. Finding himself attacked at Valencia by a serious malady, he caused himself to be clothed in the habit of a Cistercian monk, and publicly asked pardon for the bad example he had given; thus subjecting himself to a kind



of mortification, which, if useful to the dead, is of little service to the living. Don Jaymo has the character of having been a pretty good king.

Don Pedro  
11. 1276.

The partition of his states had already taken place, and Don Pedro, his eldest son, was in possession of Arragon. During the life of his father, Don Ferdinand, for whom the states of France were destined, had revolted. He was, however, beat by Don Pedro, who having taken him prisoner in a castle, caused him to be drowned without any formality. On the death of this prince he was enabled to indemnify, by the states of France, his brother Don Jaymo, from whom he took Valencia, Majorca, and Minorca. He seized on Sicily, to which his mother, Yolanda, had left him some right. Before he set out for this expedition he released several persons accused of sedition, whom he had detained in confinement; "Magnanimous souls (said he) are won by kindness; I expect from your gratitude that tranquillity, which another prince would have effected by continuing your imprisonment." His hopes were not deceived; they suffered his dominions to remain in a state of peace, and the greater part of them even embarked with him for Sicily.

Charles of Anjou reigned in that island. After several indecisive actions, the two kings agreed to decide their quarrel, by a combat of a hundred against the same number, in the city of Bourdeaux. At that time, they were both in Sicily,

and might, in a moment, have marked out their field of battle; but they had particular reasons for fixing it at such a distance: one of them remained in the arena at Bourdeaux till noon; when he had retired, the other appeared and continued till night, and both of them called witnesses to prove their punctuality. Don Pedro carried with him to his grave the appellation of Great.

His son, Don Alphonso III. deserved that of the Liberal. He lived only six years, and was succeeded by his brother, Don Jaymo III. To enjoy the crown of Arragon, he abandoned that of Sicily, which he left to his brother Frederick, but, by the instigation of the pope, he revoked this concession and declared war against his brother. As he adopted this measure contrary to his inclination, the pontiff, by way of indemnification, for the violence he had offered to his feelings, gave him Sardinia and Corfica, but only when he should conquer them. Don Jaymo at last resigned Sicily altogether to Don Frederick. He shewed a spirit of equity worthy of praise, in regard to the Templars, and did not unite himself to their persecutors. He was a zealous protector of the maritime commerce of his subjects. He realised the bull of the generous pope who had given him Sardinia, and made a conquest of it. His eldest son, Don Jaymo, formed the singular resolution of never being a king. In vain

Don Al-  
phonso III.  
1285.  
Don Jaymo  
III. 1291.

did his father urge and conjure him to change his mind. He requested that the states might be assembled, and, in their presence, renounced the throne for ever, assumed the habit of the knights of Calatrava, and, after that period, led the life of an adventurer, without ambition and without regret.

Don Al-  
phonso IV.  
1325.  
Don Pedro  
IV., 1336.

It was therefore the youngest, Alphonso IV. who ascended the throne after his father. Every thing succeeded according to his wish abroad, but the same spirit of discord, which sometimes interrupts the domestic harmony of individuals, insinuated itself into his family, and excited discontent in the nation: he was embroiled in a quarrel with his brothers, his wife, and his children: the people took a share in the dispute: the Pope interfered in it also. The sovereign pontiff had, at that period, a great influence in the court of Spain. Alphonso IV. reigned only eight years: he was surnamed the Meek. His son, Don Pedro IV. found means to subdue the malcontents, and to suppress that spirit of faction, which the too great mildness of his father had suffered to ferment. To the crowns of Corsica and Sardinia, he added that of Majorca, which he usurped from his brother-in-law. The prince, stripped of his territories, was desirous of trying his fortune, as he had a favourable opportunity, by the commotions in Arragon, which were still continued. He hazarded a battle and was killed.



These troubles became still more dangerous under Don Pedro, than they had been under Alphonso the Mild. The malcontents formed a league, which they called the Union: it obliged the king to assemble the states at Saragossa, where he had the mortification of hearing the following remonstrance: “Your whole reign has been a  
“ continual violation of the privileges of the na-  
“ tion. You give no employments but to bad  
“ subjects. You cause the people to support men  
“ who labour only for their destruction. Resolve  
“ to govern in future according to the laws, and  
“ to remove from your person dangerous minis-  
“ ters. If you do not comply, we shall proceed  
“ to the election of another king.” This advice, more than severe, the monarch heard, with great patience, on his throne. He knew how to be revenged. He had previously made a secret protest against any orders that might be extorted from him. He created a division in the Union by his promises, but it was a hydra, the reviving heads of which still threatened new misfortunes.

It is believed, that it was in order to prevent or avert them, that he sacrificed to public hatred Don Bernard de Cabrera, who had been his general, minister, and favourite, from the commencement of his reign. Amidst the different factions, he had always shewn himself attached to the king, who had rewarded him with entire confidence. He possessed great authority, and this was suffi-

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cient to make his enemies ascribe to him the acts of oppression committed by the monarch. Whether it was that the king thought he could justify himself in the eyes of the nation, by sacrificing him, or that he had become really suspected, Don Pedro caused him to be arrested. He was accused of every kind of crime, and being put to the torture, was condemned to death by a tribunal, in which the duke de Girone, the king's son, presided, Cabrera had been his preceptor. Others say that the king himself pronounced the sentence, and that he was publicly executed by the duke. This would have been adding one atrocity more to the rest. All historians agree, that Cabrera's great crime was his having been too faithful a servant to a bad master. Don Pedro was fond of large assemblies, but it is seen, by what happened to him at Saragossa, that they did not always give him reason to be satisfied. On account of this taste, he has been distinguished by the surname of the Ceremonious.

Don Juan I.  
Martin I.  
1395.

His successor, Don Juan I. the son of a former wife, repaid to his mother-in-law the bad treatment to which she had subjected him, during the life of her husband. Don Juan had married a French lady, who was passionately fond of music, poetry, and Limousin dances. The gaiety of her court displeased the nobility of Arragon, who were grave and austere. To gratify their wishes, he was obliged to banish these amusements. This

compliance was the natural consequence of Don Juan's mild and easy character, a thing very uncommon among kings. He listened with affability to those who presented remonstrances to him, and, what is still more uncommon, promoted them. He died by an accident, and was succeeded by his brother, Martin I. At the time of his death he was in Sicily, the crown of which he left to his son. This prince died, and was soon followed by his father. By their decease, the states of Arragon resumed, in 1409, the right which they had before enjoyed of electing a king.

It is considered as certain, that these states had formerly assembled very often for the purpose of enacting laws. In order that no one should be oppressed by the royal power, there was a magistrate to whom an appeal might be made from the king himself, and who could oppose the monarch when he acted contrary to the laws. This magistrate was responsible for the exercise of his power to the states alone in a body. He was called the Curb of Royalty: the Justice of Arragon. At the inauguration of the king, the grand justice was seated on a high throne with his head covered: the king, with his head bare, placed himself on his knees before him, and swore, between his hands, to maintain the privileges of the nation, and to govern according to the laws. The following proclamation was then made, in the

States of  
Arragon.



name of the people: "We, who are your equals, choose you to be our king and lord, as long as you shall respect our laws and privileges, but no longer." The states of Arragon, Valencia, and Catalonia, formed a tribunal, consisting of nine members, chosen three by three, from each of the three provinces, to determine to which of the seven competitors, who presented themselves, the three crowns of Arragon, Valencia, and Majorca, should belong.

Majorca.

This island fell into the hands of the Mahometans, when they took possession of Spain, and, as well as the other Baleares, flourished under their dominion. That of Majorca, in 1229, could bring into the field more combatants than there are at present inhabitants. The prince who reigned there brought against him, by an imprudent boast, the arms of Don Jaymo I. king of Arragon. This prince had sent to demand from the Moorish king the restitution of two ships, taken by the people of Majorca in the open sea, from his subjects, the Catalonians. The Moor, pretending ignorance, asked the envoy, in a disdainful and insulting manner, who his master was. "My master," replied the envoy, "is Don Jaymo, king of Arragon, who, at the famous battle of Tortosa, cut to pieces several thousands of your countrymen."

When this was told to Don Jaymo by his ambassador, he was so incensed, that he made pre-

parations for attacking Majorca, and swore on the altar not to abandon his enterprize till he laid hold of the king by the beard. He made a descent on the island, and took the king prisoner. When the monarch was presented to him that he might fulfil his oath, he seized him by the beard, but he did him no other injury, if we can say so of a conqueror who strips a monarch of his kingdom, and allows him only a maintenance. At his death, he left the sceptre to his son Don Jaymo II. whose posterity possessed it till the year 1324.

Don Jaymo I. in case his own race should fail, had by his will appointed the kings of Arragon to succeed to the throne of Majorca. Don Alphonso, who was reigning at the time when the direct line became extinct, took possession of it; but on a representation made to him that there still remained collaterals, he restored the crown to one of them on condition of his doing homage for it. This last sovereign was exceedingly unfortunate: on account of a quarrel with Philip de Valois, he lost the beautiful domains he possessed in France, among which was that of Montpellier. We have seen that his brother-in-law Alphonso VI. deprived him even of his island, but the king of France gave him back Montpellier through compassion, and afterwards purchased it from him. The money he received enabled him to levy troops, and to make an attack upon Majorca, which did not succeed. Misfortune seemed to

## UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

have attached itself to this family, who carried their disappointments from kingdom to kingdom. The last of its descendants disappeared about the year 1375.

Ferdinand,  
1409.

The nine judges appointed to elect a king of Arragon assembled at Caspe, a place situated on the borders of Catalonia, Valencia, and Arragon. Their choice fell upon Ferdinand, Infant of Castille, the son of Donna Leonora, the eldest sister of their last kings. He was opposed only by count d'Urgel, Ferdinand's cousin german, who took up arms, but was defeated. Being spared by the king, who granted him a pardon, he was condemned by the states to perpetual imprisonment. The king was of a weak constitution, and reigned only seven years.

Alphonso V.  
1416.

His son, Alphonso V. was one of the handsomest men of his time. His spouse, Donna Maria of Castille, was jealous of him, and not without reason, for it is well known that he had several mistresses. It is said that the vexations he experienced at home were in a great measure the cause of the wars which he undertook, by way of forming a diversion. He was called in by Jean, queen of Naples, to assist her against the duke of Anjou; this alliance involved him in a war against the Genoese with the king of Navarre. He was taken by the duke of Milan, the auxiliary of these republicans. The commander of their fleet had the honour of leading in tri-



umph in his suite these two princes, and the still greater glory of setting them at liberty, and making them his friends. After this check, which ought to have removed Don Alphonso from Italy, he became more powerful there than ever; caused himself to be crowned king of Naples, and with the consent of the states, got the duke of Calabria, his son, acknowledged heir to the throne.

He is considered as one of the greatest princes that ever wore the diadem of Arragon. Though an able and acute politician, he is reproached with no artifice; that fault he ever held in abhorrence. He carried on war during his whole lifetime, but without cruelty. While he blockaded Gaeta, the besieged sent away the women and children, because they consumed provisions and were of no utility. His generals wished to drive these unfortunate people back into the town, but he gave orders that they should be suffered to pass and be treated with kindness: "I had much rather," said he, "fail in my attempt to take the place, than be wanting in the cause of humanity." Alphonso was fond of letters; took delight in the society of learned men, and made them experience his liberality. He had for his emblem an open book: "An ignorant prince," said he, "is a crowned ass." His numerous virtues were blended with several vices, but they had more influence on his private life, than on his political conduct.

Don John,  
1458.

He was succeeded by his brother, Don John, king of Navarre. He was jealous of his son Don Carlos, prince of Viane. This passion was fanned by the false reports of the queen, the prince's mother-in-law, and by the fears with which she inspired her husband, who was old and superstitious. He caused his son to be arrested, and afterwards set at liberty; but Don Carlos, who was mild and of great sensibility, could ill brook the mistrust which his father shewed towards him. He died of grief or by poison, universally regretted. Donna Blanche, one of his sisters, being also persecuted by their common step-mother, fell a sacrifice to the effects of poison. No doubt has been entertained, that the death of the prince and princess was owing to the criminal conduct of the queen Donna Henrica, who wished to place upon the throne Don Ferdinand her son, to the prejudice of Don Carlos, born by a former wife; and to procure besides, to that favourite son, the rights which Donna Blanche had to Navarre. It is said, therefore, that Donna Henrica, tormented with remorse, cried out several times on her death-bed: "My son Ferdinand, how much thou hast cost thy mother!" Don Juan died at the age of eighty-two; but even at that age he had still a mistress. His reign was that of women and favourites, and was consequently rendered turbulent by a number of intrigues.

Ferdinand was already seated on the throne of Castille, in which Isabella, the sister and heiress of Henry IV. surnamed the Impotent, suffered him to participate, when the death of his father, Don John, raised him to that of Arragon. Thus all Spain found itself under one sceptre, except the kingdom of Grenada, which was possessed by the Mahometans. This union of the strength of the Christians announced to the Moors the destruction of their empire. Ferdinand and Isabella made preparations for it with great address, and executed their project with equal success: by joining their power they formed a plan of conquest, which they pursued slowly, but with certain effect. Several years were spent in confining the Moors within Grenada their capital; in taking the surrounding towns, and in depriving them of all communication with Africa, by which they were consequently deprived of the means of recruiting their armies, and repairing their losses. They employed not only force, but even indulgence, clemency, and persuasion, which are always far more efficacious than arms.

The Moors, after they had defended themselves valiantly, finding that their ruin was approaching, often requested permission to enter into terms of capitulation: Ferdinand granted them such as were honourable and advantageous. Several of them, alarmed by forebodings of the destruction which threatened their kingdom, asked



permission to remove from it. Those who chose to retire to the states of their opponents, Ferdinand caused to be conveyed thither at his expence; and assigned to them houses, lands, and revenues, for their subsistence. Those who wished to be transported to Africa he supplied with ships. Some of the captains, however, were such villains, that they murdered and threw into the sea several of these unfortunate wretches, in order that they might seize on their property. The king and queen ordered strict enquiry to be made respecting these atrocities, and the criminals were punished: the effects which had been thus robbed were recovered, and sent to the relations in Africa of those who had been murdered.

Every breast, not void of humanity, must be affected by the fate of the unfortunate remains of these people. When they saw clearly, after being shut up in Grenada, crowded together in that city, that no resource was left them, they were seized with a kind of madness. Sometimes they sallied forth on the Christians with such fury as rendered them blind to every danger; sometimes, like ferocious beasts caught in the hunter's toils, they fell into such a state of stupor, that they seemed as if annihilated. When they recovered from this torpor, they abandoned themselves to the most violent emotions of grief and despair; tears streamed from their eyes; they were almost stifled with sobs; they stretched forth their sup-

pliant hands towards the palace of their prince, as if he had been able to shelter them; and loaded him with reproaches, as if he had been the cause of their misfortunes. They entered their mosques; abandoned themselves to lamentations; ran to the tombs of their ancestors, which they embraced; hurried from their houses, melting into tears, yet again returned to touch at least what they could not carry off, and to cast a fond look at those favourite spots which had been witnesses of their former happiness.

After the surrender of Grenada, there still remained a great number, who were treated with kindness. Their king, who, finding himself incapable of protecting his subjects, had at any rate procured for them, by his capitulation, the best terms possible, was permitted to retire with those who might choose to follow him. The Alpujarras, neighbouring mountains, which are not destitute of either fertile lands or agreeable situations, were assigned to them as a place of retreat. Thus Grenada, after having been seven hundred and seventy-nine years under the dominion of the Moors, was, in 1492, again brought under that of the Christians.

The Mahometans of Grenada were for some years allowed the satisfaction of practising their own religion; but on account of some disturbances, they were enjoined to become Christians, or to quit the city and retire to Africa. The greater part of them submitted to baptism. A

war, considered as a revolt, which broke out in the Alpujarras, caused the same alternative to be prescribed to those who inhabited these mountains. From those who preferred voluntary banishment, ten pistoles were demanded for each family, and the whole of the sum exacted amounted to a hundred and seventy thousand. In this respect, they were worse treated than the Jews, whom Ferdinand and Isabella banished also from their states, but without demanding any thing from them. The latter, to the number of thirty thousand families, carried with them, when they departed, immense riches. These sovereigns, by sacrificing so many subjects and so much wealth, seem to have imagined that they could not purchase their tranquillity at too dear a rate: but, that they might not lose the fruit altogether, they granted to the inquisition, which even then existed in Spain, that sanguinary power which has rendered this tribunal so formidable.

The kingdoms of Arragon and Castille, under Ferdinand and Isabella, being governed by sovereigns of such abilities, were in a most flourishing condition. The royal pair lived in perfect harmony, and Ferdinand, who was much younger than the queen, carefully concealed from her those irregularities which might have inspired her with jealousy. If she was informed of them, she prudently observed silence. They married their eldest daughter, Donna Jean, to Philip, arch-



duke of Austria, and the archduchess, Margaret, the emperor's daughter, espoused the infant, Don Juan. This young prince died almost immediately after, but the grief which Isabella experienced on this occasion was somewhat alleviated by the birth of a prince, of whom her daughter was delivered. This prince was the celebrated Charles V. Donna Jean had a second son, named Ferdinand. It is believed that it was the consequences of her delivery which deranged the mind of this princess. The principal object of her madness was her husband, whom she loved with the most extravagant fondness. It appears that the prince was harassed by it, for he often quitted her, and it frequently happened, that, on the slightest pretences, he undertook sea-voyages, that he might be at a distance from her.

Queen Isabella was a witness to the derangement of her daughter, and this spectacle, added to grief for the loss of her son, hurried her to the grave, in 1504. By her will she left Castille to Donna Jean, who has been surnamed the Foolish, but failing her, to her grandson Charles; and the guardianship and regency of the kingdom to Ferdinand, her husband, until Charles should come of age. Ferdinand survived Isabella twelve years, and died, like her, in a state of melancholy. He left Arragon to his grandson. Ferdinand is celebrated for his profound policy: he united to the crown Cadiz and Gibraltar; kept in awe the

grandeers of the kingdom, merely by the fear which his abilities inspired ; and caused France to restore to him Rouffillon, in return for which he was to resign Naples to the French, but, when he got possession of this pledge, he continued his conquests in that kingdom, by the exploits of Gonsalvez de Cordova, who has been surnamed the Great Captain. The king went thither himself, but more as a politician than a warrior, in order to pursue such measures as might ensure him the possession of what he had already obtained, rather than to combat for more.

Ferdinand set on foot large armies, as his system was to exhibit respectable forces, in order to alarm his adversaries, and to bring them to his own terms without proceeding to blows. The archduke, his son-in-law, died before him, and this loss completed the derangement of Donna Jean, who caused the dead body of her husband to be carried about after her wherever she went. Her reason was entirely lost, except during a few lucid intervals, which took place too seldom to enable her to govern. Ferdinand, at the time of his death, being deprived of the company of his grandson, who was then in the Netherlands, entrusted the administration to cardinal Ximenes, and Charles V. confirmed the authority of this prelate until he should be able to return himself to Spain.

Ximenes, whose name was Cisneros, of a noble family, but which had never rendered itself illustrious, united in his character uncommon qualities. Having become, by his merit, archbishop of Toledo, he saved, for some years, the revenues of this rich benefice, in order that he might employ them in a manner useful to the state. With the money thus accumulated, he levied an army, and went, in person, to Africa, to lay siege to Oran. He took that city, and it has ever since served as a barrier against the incursions which the Moors might have attempted to make into Spain.

No person could be more modest in private life. During his greatest exaltation, he went to the village where he was born, paid an affectionate visit to his relations and family connections, and conferred on them marks of kindness, but without making them change their condition. Having arrived at the door of one of his female relations, who was not in very opulent circumstances, he surprised her while preparing bread for her family. As she wished to retire, in order to put on another dress more proper for receiving such a guest, he stopped her and said, "This dress, and this office, become you exceedingly well. Give yourself no trouble about any thing but your bread, and take care that it does not burn." Those who do not despise the simplicity of rural life will, with pleasure, represent to themselves, in idea, Ximenes in this cottage.



He was fond of calling to mind his former state, and was not afraid of scenes which recalled it to the remembrance of others. In speaking of the philosophers' stone, the discovery of which was said to be possible, and to be announced in the scriptures, some one quoted to him the following passage of the psalmist: "He draws from the dust those who are in indigence, and raises the poor above the dunghill, that he may place them among the first of his people." The cardinal immediately applied it with more justness than to the philosophers' stone. "This verse," said he, "has a much more natural meaning. It exhibits to me my present state, and places before my eyes my former meanness. What have I done to God, that he should raise me from the dust to the post which I now occupy!"

This great minister despised every thing called court finesse. He never would employ it, nor even use so much as writing by means of ciphers. A certain kind of secret writing having been proposed to him, he replied: "I have nothing that I wish to conceal." Being very indifferent in regard to libels, he said to one of his colleagues, who complained of one: "While we act, let us leave to others the liberty of speaking. If what they say is false, we ought to laugh at it; but if it be true, let us amend our faults." One day he was shewn a very beautiful jewel, and urged to purchase it. "This jewel," said he,

“ is exceedingly pretty, and is no doubt worth  
“ the price asked for it; but the army has just  
“ been disbanded; there are many poor soldiers,  
“ and with the value of this jewel I can send two  
“ hundred of them home, each with a piece of  
“ gold in his pocket.”

Ximenes founded the university of Alcalá, which he endowed with great riches; and the magazines, still to be seen in that city, as well as at Toledo, and in the place of his birth, were the work of his provident care. That the Mosarabic rites might not be lost, he founded a chapter of canons, who were obliged to perform divine service according to that system. The bible of Compluta, the first polyglot that ever appeared, cost him immense sums, on account of the difficulty of collecting manuscripts and men of learning necessary for conducting the work. In a word, Spain was indebted to him for a number of establishments worthy of royal magnificence. It is to be observed, that he set apart one half of his revenue to defray the expences of them; and that the other half was strictly employed in relieving the poor, under his own daily inspection.

The grandees, who were desirous to oppose the regency of Ximenes, sent to ask him to shew his powers. Ximenes returned for answer, that they might come and see them. They accordingly paid him a visit, and beheld two thousand vete-

ran troops with artillery drawn up in order of battle before the palace: "There," said he, "these are the powers with which I shall govern Spain till the arrival of the king." His firm, but judicious administration, during which he displayed great talents, taking care to secure the friendship of the nobility, while he paid the utmost attention to the lower ranks and the rewarding of merit, ought to be held up as a model to all ministers.

He was, however, not able to avoid the attacks of jealousy. He died on his way to meet Charles V. who had arrived in Spain. Some say he was poisoned, because it was apprehended that he might give the king advice useful to a prince, but dangerous to the pleasures of the great.

Charles only made his appearance in Spain, being recalled to Germany by the imperial dignity which was conferred upon him. Chievre, his tutor, to whom he entrusted the reins of government during his absence, did not manage them with so much skill as Ximenes. Some revolts took place, and the emperor, on his return, was obliged to exercise punishment; but he employed it no farther than necessary. When it was represented to him that too many rebels were spared, he replied: "Enough of blood has been shed; we must shed no more." A man, who wished to insinuate himself into his favour, came and told him where one of his accomplices was concealed. Charles



replied: "You would have done much better to tell this gentleman that I am here, than to tell me where he is."

Spain, under this reign, was witness to two great events: a king of France prisoner at Madrid, and the emperor become a hermit at St. Just. It is certain that Charles V. did not behave as a generous prince during the imprisonment of Francis I. He bartered with that monarch respecting his liberty, though he might have secured to himself the most lasting advantages by granting it nobly; while, on the other hand, because he grasped at too much, nothing was left to him but the shame of having made too exorbitant a demand. The king of France, on his part, was not altogether free from reproach, by not adhering to the conditions, however disadvantageous they might have been. If they were too burthensome to his kingdom, as he prided himself so much on honesty, he ought to have returned to his captivity. It is however to be observed, that, notwithstanding this breach of faith, Charles did not hesitate to entrust his liberty and life to the sincerity of Francis, whom he had grievously offended. Being obliged, by a revolt of the people of Ghent, to repair speedily to Flanders, he chose to proceed through France, and entered it without any other security than the word of the king. But when he arrived at the court of the monarch, which he

found numerous and brilliant, he entertained some fear, and thought it prudent to secure the friendship of those who might have persuaded his host to adopt disagreeable resolutions. Of this number was the duchess d'Etampes, mistress of Francis I. Charles one day, while conversing with her, dropped, as if by accident, a diamond of great value. The duchess hastened to take it up and to present it to the emperor, but he said with a smile: "Madam, it belongs to you; emperors and kings never take back what has fallen from their hands."

It appears that Charles V. was fond of residing in Spain. Though he did not always find his subjects very submissive, he returned thither with pleasure after his wars in Flanders and Germany. It was in Spain that he chose to free himself, in a peaceful retreat, from the fatigues attached to sovereignty. He retired to a small house, which he had caused to be built near the hermits of St. Just, where he lived two years, employed in the exercises of piety; and making as little mention of public affairs as if he had never been acquainted with them. He had in his character a great deal of the Spanish gravity and Flemish dullness. He was correct and laconic in his expressions; remarkably secret in his measures, and moderate in his passions; yet we are acquainted with two natural children who were born to him: Margaret,

the daughter of a Flemish lady, and Don John of Austria, whose mother is not known.

The first ceremony at which Philip II. assisted <sup>Philip II.  
1516.</sup> when he arrived in Spain from Flanders, after the death of his father, was an *auto-da-fe*. The nature of this spectacle is but too well known. His first ordinance was an injunction to receive the council of Trent, under penalties which announced persecution; and his first proclamation an order to the Moors of Grenada to change their dress, their language, and their manners. They were accused of being Christians only in appearance. It was said that, though they presented their children publicly to baptism, they washed them afterwards at home with warm water to efface the sacrament; that, though married in the church according to the rites of the Christians, they remarried in private, according to the Mussulman ceremonies, and that they circumcised their children, and educated them in the law of Mahomet. As the instructions given to these pretended converts were attended with very slow success, recourse was had to more violent means. They, however, defended themselves, and a general insurrection took place: the ecclesiastics were the first victims of their fury. War, when it arises from religious quarrels, is carried on without mercy. On this occasion it cost the lives of more than a hundred thousand Moors. The result of it was, that these unfortunate people were drawn



from their mountains, and dispersed throughout Castille, at such a distance from each other, as to leave no room for apprehending that they could ever again unite.

Were it allowable to add fiction to history, we might represent the gloomy Philip II. as abandoned, in the retreat of his cabinet, to profound meditation; measuring the globe, embracing the whole universe by his plans, and feeding himself with hopes which the event indeed belied, but which were not without the appearance of success. It thinks it hears him say:—England, which I acquired by my spouse Mary, has escaped from me; I will send thither my fleets; I will reduce under the yoke these islanders, and that Elizabeth whom I saved, and who has disdained my alliance. The revolted Flemings, who have converted their marshes into a rampart against my power, I will persecute by the merciless Alba, the executor of my vengeance. In vain shall they bite the steel which pierces them; they shall perish, or submit to the religious laws which I will impose on them. In regard to that rival kingdom France, I will kindle and maintain there the flames of discord. All this will cost me money and men; but after shaking that throne, I will secure it, place upon it my daughter Isabella, and reign under her name.

Such were the projects of the tyrant of Spain. We may add to them, the design which he had

of causing the imperial crown to be resigned to him by his cousin Maximilian II. But Providence disappointed all these hopes, though they were neither foolish nor absurd. The winds blew; the stormy billows arose, and the greater part of his fleet, called the *Invincible Armada*, was dashed to pieces on the coasts of England, or swallowed up by the waves. Philip even had the mortification of seeing the English block up his ports, destroy his galleons, and receive a ransom for Cadiz. The cruelties of the duke of Alba, instead of rendering the Flemings submissive, served only to irritate them more; despair gave them strength, not only to resist oppression, but to render themselves an independent and sovereign people. A warlike prince, educated in principles of hatred towards the Spanish monarchs, who had robbed his family of part of their inheritance, at length emerged from the rocks of Bearn, drove from France the troops and emissaries of Philip, and surrounded with splendour the diadem which the sovereign of Spain had destined for his daughter. It is not probable that the possession of Portugal, the king of which was well secured on his throne, formed at first any part of the projects of Philip; but a fortunate change procured him that crown without any difficulty, while it had cost him much money and numbers of men to carry on his fruitless attempts against others.

Philip II. by some historians, has been sur-named the Prudent; but the reader may judge from the picture which has been given of his political conduct, how far he was entitled to that epithet. In regard to his private life, the principal actions of it have been represented in a light not very favourable to his memory. He was far advanced in years when he married, as his second wife, the young Elizabeth, princess of France. When she beheld him, for the first time, with his grey hair and wrinkles, she could not help expressing an emotion of surprise not much calculated to flatter the vanity of the old monarch. It did not escape his notice; and he never forgot it. Elizabeth had been destined for Don Carlos: the attention which she paid to that prince has been construed into a passion. She died of an abortion; and report has said that she was poisoned.

The catastrophe of Don Carlos has also thrown a shade on the reputation of his father. On account, or rather under the pretence of a plot formed by this young prince to escape from the court of Spain, in order that he might excite an insurrection in Flanders, and establish himself there as an independent sovereign, his father brought him to trial; condemned him himself, and caused him to be executed in prison, almost before his eyes. Others say that this young prince opened a vein, and suffered himself to bleed to death, as



he despaired of obtaining his father's pardon. Philip is accused also of having been jealous of the merit of Don John of Austria, his natural brother; and of having made away with him by poison. The imputation even of such crimes is a stain; as it gives reason to suppose that Philip was believed to be capable of committing them.

Philip affected a great deal of devotion, and at the same time led a most licentious life in private. We know that he had as a mistress, publicly acknowledged, Anne de Mendoca, widow of the prince of Eboli, who had been his favourite. She had lost the sight of one eye, and notwithstanding this defect, made many conquests. However dangerous it might be to raise up rivals to Philip, she did not conceal the affection which she retained for Antonio Peres. As he held an office in the ministry, it was not difficult to charge him with crimes. After having been in danger of losing his life, even amidst the horrors of torture, Antonio took shelter in France, and was received by Henry IV. with great kindness. The monarch one day asked him how he could venture, at the hazard of his life, to attach himself to a woman who had the sight of only one eye. He replied with vivacity, "With that eye she sets the world on fire; if she had two, she would reduce it to ashes."

The history of the following reigns is not so much that of monarchs, as of their ministers. Philip III.  
1598.

Philip III. ascended the throne at the age of twenty-one, and together with him Don Francis de Sandoval, duke of Lerma, his favourite. The power of the latter was so speedily and so well established, that, at the end of a year, he was considered to be the monarch much more than his colleague. At the king's marriage two statues had been prepared, one of Jupiter, and the other of Philip, supporting a globe on their shoulders. On that which represented the god, the following words were inscribed: "This Jupiter is the duke of Lerma." Spies, under the last reign, had occasioned an immense expence; the duke of Lerma, however, dismissed them, and this measure was a great relief to the finances. He concluded a peace with the English, and a truce of twelve years with the United Provinces, which he acknowledged as independent. The only war now remaining was that with France, which the duke of Lerma, without doubt, would soon have got rid of, had not the death of Henry IV. revived his hopes of maintaining it with success; but it ended of itself, in the course of a few years, by the marriage of the infanta, Anne of Austria, with Louis XIII. and that of the princess Elizabeth, his sister, with Philip prince of Asturias.

The duke of Lerma was a prudent, economical, pacific man; and took great pains to heal the wounds given to the monarchy by the ambition of Philip II. but too much compliance with

the wishes of his brother, the archbishop of Toledo, made him give Spain a wound which still bleeds: he listened to the accusations brought against the Moors. Some pretended to prove that those of the kingdom of Valencia had conceived a design of massacring, on Good-Friday, all the old Christians; and on this charge a resolution was formed to expel them entirely. In vain did the nobility, whose lands, much to their advantage, were cultivated by these industrious men, represent that with the Moors' industry, riches and abundance would be banished from Spain: the decree of proscription was pronounced, and put in execution throughout the whole kingdom: they were transported, at different times, to Africa. It is true, indeed, that the king endeavoured to procure them lands, where they might exercise their industry. But what kind of indemnification could this afford for establishments already formed! According to the most moderate estimation, the loss sustained by Spain on this occasion amounted to eighty thousand families, which make about six hundred thousand souls.

Lerma had a son, named the duke of Uzeda, and a nephew named the duke of Lemos. The former being supple, artful, and polite, seemed to be well fitted for the intrigues of a court; and Lerma introduced him to the king, that in case of necessity he might become his successor in favour. He instructed him so well in the manner



of insinuating himself into the good graces of the monarch, that he succeeded even beyond his wishes. Lemos, better calculated for business, was placed near the prince of Spain, in order that he might ascend above the horizon with this rising sun, and revive, by the participation of his benign influence, the credit of the uncle under a new reign. That nothing might be neglected, the minister assigned to the king a confessor on whom he believed he could depend.

But how vain is human prudence ! The son was offended because his father had destined him to act the part of a courtier ; and the confessor found that it would be more advantageous to hold his place by a minister of his own creation, than by a man on whom he was merely a dependant. In their private conversations with the king, they both conveyed to his ears the complaints of the people, whom each made to speak according to his own wishes. Philip convoked a junto or assembly to enquire into the state of the kingdom. A minister, whose credit is on the decline, must always be found culpable : the king ordered Lerma to quit the court, and sent him into exile. His son was substituted in his place ; and Lemos, who refused to support the intrigue of his cousin against his uncle, was ordered to retire from the prince's service.

It is not known how far the duke of Uzeda might have carried his ingratitude towards his father,

had not the duke of Lerma secured his head by a cardinal's hat, which he procured for him before his disgrace. The blow with which he was perhaps threatened fell upon Don Roderigo Calderon, count d'Oliva, his favourite, the son of a soldier of fortune, and a Fleming. Calderon, from the lowest stage of domestic service, rose to be entrusted with the confidence of his master. The latter, when he became minister, procured him opulence; loaded him with honours, and suffered him to aspire to a viceroyship. At the commencement of his fortune, he disowned his father; but he afterwards repaired his fault, by admitting him into his house, and treating him with that respect which was due to the author of his existence. The duke of Lerma, in his exile, had the mortification of seeing the most violent attacks made against his favourite, in order to keep up the hatred of the people against himself. Though Calderon, after a long trial, was declared innocent, he was still detained in close confinement.

Philip IV. on mounting the throne, banished the duke of Uzeda to his estates, and the confessor to his convent. He then chose for his minister Gaspard de Guzman, count of Olivarez. According to custom, the new minister encouraged those complaints which were likely to disgrace his predecessors, and to throw odium on their government. The unfortunate Calderon

Philip IV.  
1621.

became a victim to this policy. After having been acquitted of those faults in administration of which he was accused, he was again brought to trial, charged with the murder of two Spanish gentlemen. Though the crime was never fully proved, Calderon was condemned to death; but he suffered with so much courage and resignation, as excited the compassion of the spectators.

According to that common system of depreciating every thing done by others, in order to enhance the merit of what people do themselves, Olivarez, who has been called the *Count-Duke*, projected a renewal of the war with the United Provinces, and turned his thoughts to the affairs of Italy, which had been neglected. This proud, haughty, enterprising minister, who feared nothing, braved the pretensions of the great; and treated as abuses the privileges of the people. The Catalonians, wounded in this sensible part, revolted; while the Portuguese, to whom sufficient attention had not been paid, shook off the Spanish yoke, and chose the duke of Braganza for their king. The Count-Duke, familiarized with the indifference of Philip, announced to him this revolution as a fortunate event. "I congratulate your majesty," said he, "on the rebellion of the duke of Braganza, which will be the means of uniting his possessions to your domains."

This pleasantry, however, was no longer in season. After twenty years of error, the king,



at length, began to open his eyes in regard to the bad administration of the Count-Duke. When we consider the misfortunes with which Spain was oppressed on all sides, during his administration, it would appear wonderful how he could so long preserve the good graces of the monarch, were we not acquainted with the secret of this strange favour. The master and the minister, being both equally hypocrites, affected a great ostentation of piety and religion; yet abandoned themselves, in private, to the same irregularities. On an occasion of importance, when Olivarez was proved to be a cheat and an impostor, he appeased the anger of the prince and established himself more firmly in his favour, by becoming subservient to his pleasures. He procured him Calderona, a celebrated actress, by whom Philip had a son, who enjoyed his tenderest affection. He was desirous of acknowledging him publicly, but was prevented, by the fear of disgracing himself in the eyes of the Spaniards, who were not familiarised with such scandalous transactions. Olivarez, however, removed the monarch's scruples by his own example, as he received into his house a natural son whom he had almost neglected, and for whom he procured a rich marriage. Emboldened by the silence which the public observed, in regard to this action, Philip declared himself the father of the son of Calderona, and gave him the name of Don John of Austria.

Habit maintained Olivarez in the king's favour, notwithstanding the knowledge which the prince had acquired of the misfortunes of the kingdom, and the bitter reflections they extorted from him. Philip, indeed, so far from being displeased with his minister, even consoled him, and revived his courage in the moments of disappointment, and when oppressed by the most afflicting misfortunes. He would, therefore, have left him at the helm of affairs, had not the general discontent of the people been expressed so loudly, that the indolence of the monarch could no longer resist it.

Every body called aloud for his dismissal. The court was deserted; the great retired from it, and the people, gloomy and silent, did not exhibit the usual signs of attachment when the king appeared in public; but no person durst speak out. The queen, however, broke the ice, and represented to her husband, that the misfortunes of the kingdom were occasioned merely by the romantic policy of Olivarez. She was seconded by the imperial ambassador. The ladies of the court surrounded the king in a body, and his nurse even was brought forward in the scene to assist them. The latter threw herself on her knees, and described the misery of the people in so lively, but so affecting a manner, that Philip, as he was setting out for the chace, wrote a letter to the Count-Duke to retire. He experienced no other mark of disgrace. Some even foresaw the moment of his being recalled; and

this would have been actually the case had he not, by a memorial which he published, offended the queen, and other persons, who were thereby induced to prevent his return.

After this period Philip IV. had properly no minister. He conducted public affairs chiefly by the advice of Don Louis de Haro, the nephew of Olivarez, who had been employed under his uncle. He concluded with Cardinal Mazarine the peace of the Pyrenees, which gave a queen to France and repose to Spain. Catalonia submitted; but Portugal was never again brought under the dominion of the Spaniards. Their arms were attended with success in Italy, and Philip IV. enjoyed the long wished for pleasure of having a legitimate son born to him by a German princess, who was his own niece. He left him at a very early age under the tutelage of his mother, with a council of regency. By strong solicitation the queen prevailed on her husband not to admit into it Don John of Austria, who had already acquired some reputation in war and in public business.

In the room of this prince, who might have opposed her whimsical, absolute wishes, the queen introduced into the council Father Nitard, a jesuit, her confessor. Charles II. was only four years of age, and his mother, who was remarkably fond of governing, flattered herself under so young a king with a long reign. In order to secure to it tranquillity, she suddenly adopted two measures: an

Charles II.  
1665.



acknowledgement of the independence of Portugal, and the cession of several places claimed by Louis XIV. The regent is accused of having occasioned these losses to Spain, by listening too much to the councils of Father Nitard, and not putting the kingdom in a proper state of defence. The states wished that she should take the advice of Don John; but, as she preferred giving him authority at a distance to following his councils in the cabinet, she proposed to him the government of the Low Countries, which he accepted. When about to embark, and supposed, no doubt, to be already on board the vessel, his secretary, who had been considered as his counsellor, was assassinated. The prince, enraged at this event, returned, and compelled the regent to dismiss Nitard, for whom he procured a cardinal's hat. By way of accommodation, Don John offered to renounce his seat in the council, where he found that he should be always opposed by the queen. She accordingly named him viceroy of Arragon, and vicar-general of the provinces depending on it, by which means she removed him from court.

Charles, in the mean time, grew up, and the period was now arrived for declaring him of age. After the ceremony, his mother presented to him for his signature an act, by which he was to acknowledge, that, being still too young and without experience, he had need of the assistance of his mother and the council of regency. He, however,

refused to put his name to it, and said, with a determined air: "I hope God, who caused me to be born a king, will give me understanding and strength necessary to discharge the duties of royalty." His mother did not expect such an answer. To prevent the consequences of it, she mixed, it is said, with her son's chocolate, drugs proper for weakening both his mind and his body. It is, at any rate, certain that, in the course of a few days, he lost his vivacity and spirits, and never after recovered them.

The queen substituted, in the room of Father Nitard, Don Ferdinand de Valenzuela, a young man, well made, brave, enterprising, and generous, but destitute of those qualities which are necessary for governing. The derangement of public affairs made the return of Don John of Austria again desirable; and the king recalled him unknown to his mother, whom he sent to Toledo, as if into honourable exile. Valenzuela disappeared along with her; and all the plans of the ancient ministry were overturned by the new counsellor. The queen had resolved on the marriage of her son with the archduchess Mary Antonietta, the daughter of the emperor; but Don John concluded another, which was consummated, with Mary Louisa, daughter of the duke of Orleans, brother of Louis XIV. This marriage, which was exceedingly proper, excited great jealousy against Don John, who had not suffi-

cient strength of mind to despise the base calumnies of his enemies: he was so much affected by them, that he fell ill and died of a broken heart: some say that he was poisoned. The whole nation acknowledged, that, in him, the virtues and talents of the Spanish house of Austria had emitted their last ray. As soon as his eyes were closed, the king went to pay a visit to his mother at Toledo.

The young queen, placed on the throne by the hand of Don John, was not calculated to please her mother-in-law. The queen dowager did every thing in her power to render the life of her daughter-in-law disagreeable, by carrying to excess the Spanish etiquette, which even before must have been sufficiently irksome to a young French woman. The king being indisposed, his mother had the cruelty to interdict the princess from entering her husband's bed-chamber; and, when the princess became ill, in her turn, to deprive her, as much as she could, of her husband's visits. This princess died of an abortion; but the continual bad treatment which she experienced from her mother-in-law gave reason to believe, that, besides this accident, she had been also poisoned. Her death afforded the queen mother the means of gratifying her attachment to the German nation, by uniting her son to a German princess, Mary Anne, daughter of the Elector Palatine.



This queen was more fortunate than the former, if the delusion of royalty can bring happiness to a princess destitute of children. Charles had the mortification of seeing himself without offspring, and the uneasiness which this want occasioned involved his declining years in the blackest melancholy. He was surrounded by princes, who all pretended to the succession. Some of them even openly made known to him their claims: others, though they expressed their wishes with more caution, and in softer terms, were no less importunate: all equally urged him to decide respecting their right before he died. This was, in a manner, burying him alive. He made a will in favour of the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, the son of one of his sisters: this prince, however, died, and Charles was requested to make a new disposition in regard to the succession. As he delayed to settle this point, the different powers of Europe, to avoid, as they said, a general war, made a partition of his states. Incensed to find that his crowns were disposed of, without his consent, he left them, by a new will, to Philip, duke of Anjou, the grandson of his eldest sister and of Louis XIV. Charles was regretted more on account of the consequences apprehended from his death, than of any useful quality he had shewn, during a reign of thirty-five years. In him ended a branch of Austria, which had given five kings to Spain.

Philip V.  
1700.

It would appear that the queen was not consulted in regard to a successor, or that her advice did not prevail; for, being interested so much for her own nation, she would, no doubt, have preferred seeing on the throne a prince of Germany. She acknowledged Philip V. as did all the grandees of the kingdom, except a very few, who entered into a secret protest. The reception of the young king was affectionate, and attended with great magnificence. His mildness; his complacency towards the great; his affability, and, above all, his piety, gained him the hearts of the whole nation. He espoused Mary Louisa Gabriella, of Savoy, a lively, amiable, and sensible princess, whose presence was a new charm to the people.

Philip, following bad counsel, quitted Spain, and repaired to Italy, to second the efforts of the French troops in that country. His absence gave offence, and troubles broke out, during which, the young queen displayed so great talents, and so much generosity, as restored tranquillity; but the king, on his return, found the nobility, whom he had left in the most favourable dispositions, either openly discontented or ready to oppose his measures. At the same time, a league was formed against the house of Bourbon, the tendency of which was nothing less than to wrest the crown of Spain from Philip V. and to place it on the head of Charles, archduke of Austria, descended also from a princess of Spain, but younger

than the one from whom the French prince derived his right of succession.

This competitor arrived in 1704. When he landed in Portugal, which had also joined the league, he assumed the name of Charles III. and, being supported by the English, immediately commenced the campaign. The fate of these two princes, during the course of the war, was as various as singular: they expelled each other alternately from the capital. The nation declared sometimes for the one and sometimes for the other; but it appears that the general voice was more decidedly in favour of Philip. He was indebted, in a great measure, for this preference, to the courage, and other shining qualities, of his young spouse. Though pregnant, and in a bad state of health, she feared neither the fatigue of travelling nor the hardships of a camp. Being affable and liberal, her polite behaviour gained her universal affection. She readily submitted to every inconvenience; and even sacrificed, with a good grace, her jewels, trinkets, and most valuable effects, to relieve the wants of her husband.

But, as if it had been an hereditary evil to the crown of Spain, she had a favourite, by whom she suffered herself to be governed, as the king was governed by her. This favourite, named the princess des Ursins, had been sent by the court of France, with a view to watch over and direct



the royal couple, who ought rather to have been left to themselves. She was recalled to France; but again sent for by Philip and his spouse, whose request it was not thought proper to refuse. She closed the eyes of the princess of Savoy, who left two sons, Louis and Ferdinand.

Philip married, for his second wife, Elizabeth, princess of Parma, who was indebted for her elevation to cardinal Alberoni. This astonishing man, brought from Parma to Spain by the duke de Vendome, as useful to his pleasures, was found much fitter for state affairs. He negotiated the marriage of the queen with so much ability, as deceived the princess des Ursins. She affected to wish for this union; but she dreaded it, and not without reason, for the first measure of the new queen was to dismiss the princess without delicacy or respect.

After this event, she assumed over her husband an ascendancy which she never lost. Alberoni enjoyed her full confidence, and he deserved it. In two years, he restored the navy, which had been almost destroyed, and rendered Spain, supposed to be exhausted, formidable to all the powers of Europe, who were astonished at this kind of resurrection. Both France and England feared the talents of this extraordinary genius. They entered, therefore, into a league, and obliged Elizabeth to dismiss her minister. His dignity, as a cardinal, opened for him an asylum

at Rome ; but he was persecuted there by jealousy, even till the very moment of his death.

Elizabeth, during her whole life, found herself less embarrassed in governing Spain than in governing her husband, a whimsical peevish man; of an irresolute and obstinate disposition. Through tenderness for his capricious temper, she gave way, though reluctantly, to the resolution he had formed of abdicating in favour of prince Louis, his son. This monarch did not live a year. Philip resumed the crown, and the Parmesan her authority. Her great difficulty now was how to manage her husband, as before, and to prevent him from again abdicating, as he shewed a continual desire of adopting that measure.

This princess spent her life amidst negotiation and tedious wars, the object of which was the establishment of her children out of Spain, as the crown of that kingdom had devolved on Ferdinand, son of the princess of Savoy : she succeeded in her design, and procured to her eldest son, Charles, named Don Carlos, the kingdom of Naples, together with Parma, Placentia, and other appendages, in Italy. Philip V. died in 1744, on the throne which he occupied contrary to his inclination. The queen still enjoyed some credit under his successor, Ferdinand, though he was not her son. He reigned fifteen years ; and at his death, in 1759, left his crown to his bro-

ther, Charles III. king of Naples, who resigned the latter to his son. By marriages, and other political interests, the other states of Italy were divided between the houses of Bourbon and Austria.

## PORTUGAL.

Portugal,  
between the  
Atlantic o-  
cean, Galli-  
cia, Leon,  
and Estru-  
madura.

PORTUGAL has this, 'in common with Spain, that it was by degrees extended and enlarged at the expence of the Moors; but it is superior in this respect, that its kings, being wise, warlike, and ambitious, laboured without intermission to render a small kingdom powerful, and succeeded. Royalty, in Portugal, is as old as the year 1139: before that period it was a county. Alphonso VI. king of Castille and Leon, finding his frontiers harassed by the Moors, about the year 1087, requested assistance from Philip I. king of France. A great many French knights were accordingly sent to him. When the Moors were repulsed, Alphonso, in order that he might oppose an insurmountable barrier to their incursions, granted very extensive domains in the south of Galicia to one of these adventurers, named Henry, with permission to repair the ancient cities, to build new ones, and to extend his boundaries at the expence of the Moors, when a favourable opportunity occurred. This concession he confirmed by



the marriage of Donna Theresa, his natural daughter, with the new count.

Henry gained seventeen battles against the Moors, and governed with as much success as prudence. His widow was suspected to carry on a criminal intercourse with one of the noblemen of the court. The nobility, incensed, on account of the disgrace which their sovereign had brought upon herself, persuaded her son, Alphonso Henriquez, to seize the supreme authority. This gave occasion to a battle between the mother and the son. The queen was worsted, and banished by Alphonso to a castle, where she was kept, it is said, with irons on her legs, till her death. This prince obtained a signal victory over the Moors, in 1139, and was proclaimed king by his subjects in the field of battle. Portugal dates the foundation of its kingdom from this memorable event.

Alphonso, proclaimed in a moment of enthusiasm, was desirous of being acknowledged in a more cool and deliberate manner, and, for that purpose, convoked the states general. It became customary, in these assemblies, that the king proposed, the prelates and the great deliberated, and the people approved. On this occasion, Alphonso appeared upon the throne, but without any mark of royalty. One of the deputies arose, and having asked, whether the states, in consequence of the proclamation of the army, and a bull from the pope, would accept Alphonso Henriquez

Alphonso L.  
1140.

for their king, they unanimously assented, amidst the loudest acclamations. The deputy having then asked, if royalty was to be confined to his person or whether he should be succeeded by his children, it was agreed that the crown should remain hereditary. After a few complimentary expressions, Alphonso said: "Since I am then king, let us make laws that may establish tranquility in the kingdom."

This, indeed, is the first duty of a king, and Alphonso instantly discharged it. A law was enacted, that when the king had no male children, he should be succeeded by his brother, but only during life, and that, for the son of the latter, a new election should be necessary: that, failing males, infants might be called to the throne; but that they should be obliged to marry a Portuguese nobleman, who should not be entitled to wear the crown, and who should walk on the left of the queen. No mention was made of bastards, who were allowed, however, to inherit afterwards.

The children of those who, thrown by accident into the hands of the Moors, should not have renounced the faith; those who should take prisoner a hostile king or his son, and those who should get possession of a royal standard, were to be declared noble. The following, on the other hand, were to be degraded: cowards, traitors, perjurers, robbers, deserters to the Moors, blasphemers, and those

who should strike a woman with a lance or sword, or who should conceal the truth from the king. An adulterous couple were condemned to the flames; but if the husband forgave the woman, the man was to be pardoned also. A murderer was punished with death, as well as the person who should violate a young lady of rank, and the lady besides was entitled to the property of the criminal. If the lady was not noble, the man, of whatever quality he might be, was obliged to marry her. Such were the principal laws of Alphonso; they may serve to give some idea of the manners of the time.

The reign of Alphonso was long and glorious. Don Sancho did not degenerate from the virtues of his father. These two princes had some fortunate chances in their wars against the Moors. Some of the crusaders, being driven upon their coasts by tempestuous weather, enabled them to obtain advantages over the infidels, which they could not have expected without such assistance. Alphonso II. the son of Don Sancho, was engaged in disputes with his sisters. Their father, mistrustful of their fraternal affection, had given to his daughters certain estates, which appeared too considerable to the new king. He wished, therefore, either to deprive his sisters of them or to lessen them. The pope, being appealed to by the princesses, interfered in their favour. It is to be observed, that the authority of the sovereign pon-

Don Sancho  
I. 1185.  
Alphonso  
II. 1212.



tiffs and of the inquisition has, at all times, been greatly respected in Portugal. An interdict threw the kingdom into the utmost state of confusion, and Alphonso II. struck by this anathema, brought upon him by his quarrels with the clergy, left the throne in a tottering condition to his son Don Sancho II.

Don Sancho  
II. 1230.

This monarch, during a reign of twenty-three years, was continually struggling against the clergy; but with unequal strength, because he possessed neither the art nor boldness which are necessary to enable princes to conduct themselves amidst factions. He had a brother, endowed with these talents, who unfortunately employed them against him. He excited discontents among the great, and induced them to consider his brother as incapable of governing; but we are told by some historians that the fault was entirely owing to themselves, since, by their pride and sullen obstinacy, they required a firmer and more severe government. Don Sancho, on the other hand, being mild and moderate, was very ill calculated to subdue that spirit of independence which burst forth with audacity, supported by the immunities of the clergy. One of his predecessors had been so weak as to render his kingdom tributary to the holy see: the tribute, indeed, was never very exactly paid; but it gave an apparent right to the sovereign pontiffs. Innocent IV. finding Don Sancho intractable, deprived him, without depo-

sing him, of the administration of his kingdom, and gave it to his brother Alphonso.

Don Sancho retired to the king of Castille, and after some fruitless attempts to recover his authority, died at Toledo. He is represented on his tomb, holding in one hand a dove, and in the other a book, emblems of his mildness and of his taste for the sciences. The partisans of this unfortunate prince did not all abandon him. A governor of Conimbra, named Freitas, remained firmly attached to his old master. Alphonso, who wished the city to be given up to him, as the regent of the kingdom, the only title he assumed during the life-time of his brother, no sooner heard of Don Sancho's death, than he transmitted an account of it to Freitas, and summoned him to open the gates. The governor, imagining that this was only a stratagem, refused. The new king offered to allow him to go to Toledo to assure himself of the fact. He accordingly set out; caused the grave of his master to be opened; deposited the keys in it, and, on his return, acknowledged the regent as his sovereign.

One of Alphonso's first measures was to reward the fidelity of Freitas. Having become king, he disdained those who had served him against his brother, and opposed, with much more firmness than he did, the pretensions of the clergy. His reign was a continual alternation of peace and war with the court of Rome; and he found himself

Alphonso  
III. 1248.

involved in an interdict, on account of a marriage contracted with a princess who was related to him within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity. Being threatened with the danger of seeing his subjects absolved from their oath of fidelity, he was not intimidated; and by his firmness he averted the impending storm. His conduct might have formed a series of political lessons for those times, when sovereigns thought it the greatest merit to avoid with ability ecclesiastical anathemas. His great art consisted in promising a great deal, and performing little; in receiving, with the utmost respect, the cardinals and legates sent to him, and in treating them magnificently, without yielding to them in any thing of importance. Alphonso was active, vigilant, and just. Finding it impossible to enlarge his kingdom, the boundaries of which, marked out by the sea and by mountains, seemed to have been established by the hand of nature, he enriched, embellished, and fortified it: This prince had counsellors, but no favourites.

Dennis,  
1279.

Dennis, the son of Alphonso, was the father of the labouring poor, and the protector of commerce. To acquire and maintain the latter title, he took care to preserve his navy. His mother was of an imperious temper; but he chose rather to quarrel with her than to suffer her to govern. He was involved in disputes also with his brother and the clergy; but, on his part, every thing was accommodated. The case, however, was not the



same on the part of the queen, his mother. She harboured resentment in her breast, and excited against the king his grandson, prince Alphonso. Dennis had sufficient patience to make peace three times with this imprudent young man; and the latter was at length won by his mildness and indulgence. This prince, during the last years of his grandfather's life, consoled him, and made amends for his errors by submission. There is a proverb, still common in Portugal, which says: "Generous like king Dennis."

The new king, Alphonso IV. shewed great respect for the memory of his grandfather, and for his institutions; but he was far from subjecting himself to the same exactness and the same severity in his conduct. He treated with no great respect the duties of royalty. Entering the council, one day, quite full of the adventures of the chase, from which he had just returned, he began with great earnestness to give an account of them to the counsellors. One of them immediately rose, and said: "We did not assemble to hear your majesty relate such exploits. If you choose to pay attention to the wants of your people, you will find in us submissive and obedient subjects."—"And if I do not," said the king, interrupting him—"If you do not," replied the counsellor, with a firm tone, "they will seek for another sovereign." The monarch quitted the council, inflamed with passion, but he soon returned, and, addressing the

Alphonso  
IV. 1324.

counsellor, said: "I am sensible of the justice of  
" your reproach. In future you shall have nothing  
" to do with Don Alphonso, the hunter, but Don  
" Alphonso, king of Portugal." He promised  
and he kept his word.

He disgraced all those who had induced him to rebel against his grandfather, or who had assisted him on these occasions; but being accustomed, when a prince, to suffer himself to be seduced by evil counsellors, he was not sufficiently on his guard against them when he ascended the throne. He had a son, Don Pedro, who was already distinguished by signal proofs of the noblest courage. Donna Constantia, his spouse, who brought him several children, found in him a mild and complacent husband. She was, however, suspicious that he entertained an affection for Ines de Castro, the daughter of a Castilian gentleman, who had taken shelter at the court of Portugal. Constantia died; and as she had done acts of kindness to Ines, notwithstanding her suspicions, she was sincerely regretted by that young lady. Her expressions of grief affected the prince, and strengthened his attachment, which soon after burst forth with all the transports of a violent passion. It is doubtful whether she ever complied with his wishes before marriage. Don Pedro always declared that he had espoused her privately; and it is but doing justice to the memory of Ines, to believe that she was really married to the prince

before any familiarity between them took place. Don Pedro kept it very secret, both out of respect to his father, who would have been displeased with this kind of unequal match, and for other political reasons.

Some of the courtiers, jealous of the reception which Don Pedro gave to the Castilians, the countrymen of Ines, and of the good fortune of her brothers, whom the prince loaded with favours, represented to the king that it would be proper to re-marry his son to some neighbouring princess, whose alliance might be useful to the kingdom; but that such an event could not take place while the prince remained attached to Ines; and that to judge of this attachment by the prince's conduct, his chains could not be broken but by the death of the object of his passion.

These perfidious courtiers well knew that the monarch was of an ardent, impetuous disposition, ready to adopt measures, and to put them in execution. This intrigue could not be carried on without the prince knowing something of it. Trembling for the object of his affection, he conveyed her to the convent of St. Clara, at Conimbra, where he thought she would find a safe asylum. Alphonso, who was always kept in a state of alarm, by making him believe that the ascendancy of Ines, who had already been several times a mother, might become fatal to Don Ferdinand, the son of Don Pedro by his first wife, set out for



Conimbra, escorted by his perfidious counsellors. Ines being informed of his sudden arrival, appeared before him in consequence of his orders; but discovering something gloomy in his eyes, she threw herself at his feet with her children. The grandfather, melted by this spectacle, renounced his design and withdrew. His cruel courtiers reproached him with want of courage, and with having more affection for a woman, than for his subjects or the state. "Go then," said he to them, "be her executioners yourselves." They immediately hastened to the unfortunate Ines, and stabbed her on the spot.

It is impossible to describe the madness and despair of Don Pedro when he heard of this event. He collected troops to whom he endeavoured to communicate his fury; threw himself, as if frantic, on every thing that fell in his way, and laid waste the most beautiful provinces with fire and sword. The queen mother, and the bishop of Braga, immediately repaired to him, and represented how inhuman it was to make people, who were soon to become his subjects, suffer for the inhumanity of his father. Don Pedro, mindful of the principles of justice, laid aside his arms, and returned to his father, who did every thing in his power to heal his wounded heart; but he obtained from him only dissimulation, which continued as long as he lived.

Don Alphonso was, however, convinced that after his death he would no longer behave in the same manner, and under this persuasion had given the assassins of Ines a large sum of money, desiring them to go and live in some other country. They retired to Castille, and Don Pedro, still a prey to grief, indulged in the consolation of causing funeral obsequies to be performed to Ines with royal magnificence. He assembled the states; took an oath that he had espoused her, produced witnesses of the marriage, and made her children be solemnly declared legitimate. By an agreement, which he entered into with the king of Castille, at that time Don Pedro the Cruel, who was easily gained over by money, two of the criminals were delivered up to him; the third escaped. Don Pedro avenged himself more as a lover than a king: he enjoyed the cruel pleasure of assisting in their punishment, and of insulting them in their last moments.

Don Pedro,  
1357.

This prince has been called the Justiciary. He was severe and inflexible; knew nothing but right, and had his eyes and ears shut against solicitation. In a word, he was one of those characters who are feared, while their severity is blamed, but who are, at length, respected. Such characters are the fittest for government; especially when, like Don Pedro, they possess affability during the moments of relaxation, with

discernment, integrity, and justice in the application of the laws.

An ecclesiastic, in a fit of passion, having killed a mason, the king ordered him to be prosecuted without interfering in the trial. In consequence of the privileges of the clergy, the judges contented themselves with suspending the priest from his functions for a year. Don Pedro caused an insinuation to be privately conveyed to the mason's son, that he ought to put to death the murderer of his father. He did so; was arrested, tried, and condemned to be executed. As it was necessary that the sentence should be signed by the king, when it was presented to him, he desired to know the profession of the criminal. Being told that he was a mason: "Well then," replied the king, "I sentence him to be suspended from working at his trade for a year." A gentleman, one day, abused in a violent manner an officer of justice, who had brought him a summons, and even struck him. "Corregidor," said the king to the judge, "I have received a blow; I have been pulled by the beard." This apostrophe was a sentence of death against the gentleman. "No favour or exception of persons," said he; "let us administer justice as it will be administered when the secrets of all hearts shall be revealed." He presented himself to this awful tribunal during the frequent



journeys which he undertook to the monastery of Alcobaca, where he had caused to be constructed for himself a tomb. Placed before this funeral monument, he employed himself in religious meditation and serious reflections, on the account which he should one day have to render to the supreme Judge. What was said of Titus, by the Romans, has been applied to this prince: "He ought never to have been born, or never to have died."

His son Ferdinand was well calculated to make him be regretted. Fickle and inconsiderate, as much as his father had been cautious and prudent, he abandoned himself to the first suggestions; never considered any of his actions before he performed them, and never foresaw the consequences. Ferdinand imagined that the treasures, left him by his father, would never be exhausted. He expended these riches with the utmost lavishment, and soon saw them at an end. His marriage was a complication of faults against policy and decency. He ought to have married Leonora, princess of Arragon; but was induced, from very bad reasons, to turn towards Leonora the infanta of Castille. When all the conditions of the contract were settled, he happened to see Leonora Tellez, the wife of Don John d'Acunha, and this third Leonora made him forget the other two.

With a view of seducing this lady, he applied to her sister, Donna Maria Tellez; but she rejected

Ferdinand I.  
1367.

the odious mission. The king having spoke of marriage, the sister represented to him that Leonora had a husband, and that he himself was betrothed; but these obstacles did not deter him. He retracted his promise, paid to the Castillian princess a high indemnification, and determined to cause d'Acunha's marriage to be dissolved, under a pretence that it had been contracted, without a dispensation for too near a degree of consanguinity, which existed. The lady wished for it; and the husband, finding that resistance would be useless, readily complied. The marriage was accordingly declared void, and Ferdinand seated his mistress on the throne.

His choice, however, could not have been worse. Cruel, jealous, and intriguing, she made the first trial of these vices on Donna Maria Tellez, her sister. This lady, when she became a widow, inspired Don John, the son of Ines de Castro, the king's brother, with a most violent passion. He accordingly married her. The queen, who had only one daughter, named Donna Beatrix, seeing the Portuguese attached to Don John, was afraid, that if her husband, who was infirm, should happen to die, they might confer the crown on the prince, to the prejudice of her daughter. To think of beholding her sister on the throne, which she occupied, excited in her mind the most melancholy ideas. She had a conference with Don John, and gave him to understand that, if he

had not married, she meant to have destined for him her daughter, with the sceptre of Portugal. "And, on whose account," added she, "do you deprive yourself of the crown? For an infidel who betrays you." In such a case, how was it possible not to believe a sister? This interview threw Don John into a violent rage; and without making any farther enquiry, he stabbed his spouse, and fled to Castille. The queen affected some sorrow: but, being soon consoled, she asked, and obtained from her husband, leave for her brother-in-law to return. Don John, however, learned that he had been deceived, both in regard to the pretended infidelity of his wife, and the hopes of the throne, suggested to him by his sister-in-law. The queen perceiving that her crime was known, and dreading the prince's vengeance, attempted to get him assassinated; but he discovered the plot, and retired once more to Castille.

The queen retained a great influence over her husband; turned him at her pleasure, and blinded him in regard to her conduct, which escaped the notice of no one but himself. The whole court, and even the people knew that she had conceived a violent passion for Fernandez d'Andeiro, a young nobleman of Castille. She did not conceal her sentiments, proofs of which involuntarily escaped from her. Those she expressed publicly gave so much offence to the Portuguese delicacy, that during a journey which she had undertaken,



to Castille to marry her daughter Beatrix, some persons revealed to the king what a husband is generally the last to learn. He, no doubt, entertained some dread of his wife; but he carried his suspicions or conviction with him to the grave, without punishing her, and even named her regent until his daughter Beatrix should return from Castille. It has been said of Ferdinand I. that he was a moderate man, though he possessed talents, and a weak king, though not destitute of courage.

Though Beatrix was generally acknowledged, yet at the time when she was proclaimed, some voices were heard in favour of Don John de Castro, whom his mother-in-law, immediately after the death of her husband, had caused to be arrested in Castille, through a dread that he might infringe on the rights of her daughter. Some voices, still weaker and fewer in number, pronounced the name of Don John, the grand master d'Avis, the natural brother of the deceased king. The queen, fearing this commencement of favour, endeavoured to keep him at a distance from the capital, by giving him a command on the frontiers. He set out, but returned unexpectedly, while the queen and her favourite An-deiro were at table; Don John made a sign to him at the door that he wished to speak to him; and as soon as he had entered another apartment, he was stabbed. The queen sent to ask whether

she also ought to prepare for death ; but she was told that she had nothing to fear.

The grand-master even affected a desire of being reconciled with her, and referred what he had done to the necessity of appeasing the people, irritated against the favourite. He endeavoured to exculpate himself by excuses ; but she received them with coolness, and quitted Lisbon. As soon as she had abandoned the helm, the grand-master, seeing every thing in confusion, through the fault of the government, acted the usual farce of wishing to retire, in order that he might be requested to remain. As the queen had not yet removed to a great distance, a proposal was made of a marriage between them, and that they should assume in common the reins of government. This expedient was agreeable to neither party ; but the people of Lisbon obviated the difficulty, by proclaiming the grand-master protector and regent of the kingdom.

The king of Castille assisted Don John d'Avis, more than he wished, by being so imprudent as to style him king of Castille : a title which he ought to have left to his spouse alone. This premature step displeased the Portuguese. At the same time he raised an army, which furnished a plausible pretext to the regent for levying one also. The money necessary for this purpose was found in the coffers of the partisans of the queen mother and her daughter, whose property was confiscated.

The regent seized, also, the plate of the church, which he promised to restore. In general, he conducted himself towards every body with great ability and prudence. With his enemies he was haughty; with his friends modest. He had, for adviser, his chancellor, Paez, a man of great shrewdness, who had grown old amidst public affairs. He adopted, from him, the following maxim, exceedingly useful in the revolution which he effected: "Give what does not belong to you, and promise what you have not in your possession."

The Castillian army was so considerable, that the regent could not help being uneasy, when it began its march. It advanced as far as Lisbon. Every thing depended on the fate of the capital. The city endured famine, and the other calamities of war, but no thoughts were entertained of surrendering. When it was reduced to the last extremity, an epidemical disease broke out in the camp of the Castillians, and obliged them to retire. It was with great grief that the queen, her son, and her son-in-law, saw themselves obliged to abandon their enterprize. "Ungrateful city!" exclaimed the queen, inflamed with rage. "Perfidious city! may'st thou be one day overturned and devoured by the flames."

Don John I.  
1385.

This retreat having left Don John d'Avis at his ease, he assembled the states at Conimbra. The first point they determined was, that Portu-



gal could not dispense with a king; and the second, that Beatrix and her spouse, having attempted to seize the crown by force of arms, had rendered themselves unworthy of it. They deliberated, in the third place, whether it would be proper to reserve the throne for Don John de Castro, who was then a prisoner in the hands of the Castilians. The grand-master declared, that, however laborious the functions attached to the regency might be, he was ready, if the states wished, to hold it till the king should be delivered, and that he would be the first to shout, Long live Don John. The states, however, perceived that this was only an artful method of inducing them to intreat him to retain the office; since it had been, in the first place, declared, that the kingdom, under the existing circumstances, could not dispense with a king. Don John, grand master d'Avis, the natural son of Don Pedro, the chief justice, was, therefore, unanimously elected, to the prejudice of Don John de Castro, the son of the same Don Pedro by Ines, whose marriage was liable to strong objections.

Among the conditions imposed on the new monarch, we find the following, which was, perhaps, his own choice, or of such a nature as not to be disagreeable to him: that he should exclude from his council the creatures of queen Leonora; and that he should not admit them to the high offices of the crown, nor to places in the admini-

stration of Lisbon. These states enacted some laws also respecting the police.

Notwithstanding the formal exclusion of the Castilian couple, they did not consider themselves as banished from the throne without resource. The same Leonora excited her son-in-law to make another effort; but he was completely defeated. From that moment, Don Juan began to reign without opposition. He had the good fortune to sit a long time on the throne, and, by these means, to establish it on a secure basis for his posterity. It must here be observed, that there had been an ancient alliance between Portugal and England; and Don John confirmed it by espousing the daughter of the duke of Lancaster. By his honourable conduct, he softened the hitherto continual hatred which had prevailed between the Portuguese and the Castilians; and, by these means, obtained leisure to employ himself for the happiness of his subjects. As he had been a private gentleman, he retained the habit of being polite and familiar. Don Juan found the kingdom very much in debt; and he always put in practice this maxim, which he was frequently heard to repeat, "that a prince without money ought to pay with civility." The tranquillity of his reign was never interrupted but by an expedition to Africa. He took Ceuta, a fortress which he thought necessary for curbing the Moors,

and rendering it less easy for them to embark troops.

His son, Edward, was desirous of following his example. He caused Tangiers to be besieged by his brother, Don Ferdinand; but this expedition proved extremely unfortunate. The king of Fez surrounded the Portuguese in their camp; and they were reduced to the necessity of obtaining, as a favour, permission to re-embark, on promising to give up Ceuta. As this restitution could not be effected without the consent of the king of Portugal, Don Ferdinand offered to remain as an hostage till the Portuguese army should return home.

Edward,  
1493.

It was long debated in the council, whether Ceuta, the most illustrious monument of the glory of the late king, should be sacrificed, or Don Ferdinand, the son of that monarch. Had he even been a personage of less rank, one would think that no hesitation ought to have been made to ratify his treaty and break his chains; but the council were of a different opinion: Ferdinand remained in Africa, and died a captive, because the Moors obstinately persisted to refuse any other object in exchange. Edward was carried off by a plague which ravaged Portugal. He was fond of the sciences, and composed a book, entitled, "The Good Counsellor," and another, "On the Art of breaking and breeding Horses," which he dedicated to his queen.



Alphonso V.  
1433.

He appointed this princess regent of the kingdom and guardian of his son Alphonso, an infant. This measure, however, was not agreeable to the nobility, who left nothing to the mother but the education of her son, and entrusted the government of the kingdom to Don Pedro, the king's uncle. The queen committed a fault by retiring to Castille, under an idea that a great many people would follow her; but she found herself abandoned. She expended, in vain efforts to excite the enemies of the regent, the money she had carried with her: when it was all spent, she humbly asked Don Pedro for permission to return to Portugal, engaging to live according to his wishes; but she died before she received an answer. It is not improbable, that this circumstance was afterwards employed to irritate the young monarch against his uncle.

The regent bestowed every possible care to render his pupil worthy of the throne which he occupied. He inculcated in his mind the rules of good government; and set him the best examples of it by his own conduct. He at last wished to seal the services which he had rendered to his nephew, by giving him the hand of his daughter, Isabella, a young lady possessed of beauty, liveliness, and virtue.

This princess was exposed to great trouble, on account of the misunderstanding which took place between her father and husband. When the mo-

narch assumed the management of public affairs, Don Pedro's enemies obtained so much ascendancy over the mind of the king, and the uncle experienced so many disasters, that he asked leave to retire. Permission was readily granted; but his enemies proceeded still farther. They represented him as a rebel, and induced the king to treat him with severity. All intercourse with him was forbidden; and he was ordered to give up his arms. As he was coming to vindicate his character, his son-in-law caused him to be surrounded on the road, and, while defending himself, he was wounded with an arrow, which occasioned his death. An examination of his papers, with a view of finding out some charges against him, ended in the discovery of plans formed for the service of the king and the good of the state. Justice was, therefore, done to his memory, which had been tarnished during the first moments of passion.

It appears that Alphonso V. was a man of a volatile and romantic disposition. The latter quality induced him to engage in enterprises against Africa, which were attended with success. From these he acquired the surname of Africanus. It must, however, be allowed that these expeditions were more brilliant than useful. His imprudence involved him in a ruinous war with Castille; and the incoherence of his plans conducted him to France, with five hundred gentlemen, and two

thousand men in arms, to request Louis XI. to assist him in this war. The prudent Louis treated, in the manner he deserved, a king, who had quitted his own kingdom as an adventurer to beg assistance, while he had so much business to attend to at home: he amused him with fine promises.

Asbamed of a step so badly concerted, and vexed to find himself so little respected, Alphonso abandoned his nobility and armed men, and taking with him two pages, two domestics, and a chaplain, set out for Jerusalem. He at the same time wrote to Portugal, that his subjects would never see him more; and desired his son, Don John, to assume the crown. The young prince, without waiting for farther orders, decorated himself with the title of king. A few days after, while walking on the sea shore, he saw a vessel approach and land a man, who seemed to quit the ship with great joy. Alphonso remained for some moments as if thunder-struck, on finding that this man was his own father: but he soon resolved, with a good grace, what part he ought to pursue, and threw himself into his father's arms. A struggle of deference and respect took place between them. The father was willing to be satisfied with the title of king of the Algarvas. "No," replied Don John, "there cannot be two kings in Portugal; and, since you are here, there can be no other but you." Alphonso suffered himself to be persuaded. He had been obliged for



the suspension of his voyage to Jerusalem to the attention of Louis XI. This prince, astonished at such a singular whim, caused search to be made for him, and advised him, in a friendly manner, to render his folly as short as possible. It, however, still left a stain on his character. Alphonso abdicated once more; and died when just on the point of shutting himself up in a convent.

As Don John ascended the throne with a maturity of reflection and a plan ready formed, he was exceedingly severe on the great, who were too much accustomed to independence. He caused the duke of Braganza, the husband of the queen's sister, to be beheaded; because, according to an abuse transformed into a custom, he had put himself under the protection of the kings of Castille and Arragon. The monarch had given him previous warning; but he paid no regard to it. The example of his punishment served as a check to others. One of them, however, the young duke of Viseu, the queen's brother, placed himself at the head of a conspiracy. The king having sent for him, asked: "What would you do to a man who wished to take away your life?"—Viseu replied: "I would kill him with my own hand."—"Die then," returned the king, plunging a dagger into his body; "thou hast pronounced sentence against thyself." His accomplices were strangled, or thrown into cisterns. What could be done against a monarch so expeditious

Don John,  
1481.

in administering justice. The nobility submitted, and his reign was peaceful.

Historians have collected some of his actions and words, which deserve not to be forgotten. One of the judges, though a man of talents, being inaccessible but to those who brought him presents, the king, one day, said to him, in a severe tone: "Take care, I know that you keep your hands open and your doors shut." These few words made him alter his conduct. A man, who had assisted him to gratify his taste, during the effervescence of youth, brought him a note signed by his own hand, in which he had promised to create him a duke. The monarch read the note with much gravity, and having torn it, said to the bearer: "I shall endeavour to forget that ever such a note existed." He then said, turning towards the company "those who corrupt young princes, and who, by serving as the instruments of their pleasures, draw from them promises which ought never to be kept, should consider it as a favour that they are not punished."

The kingdom of Congo having been discovered in his time, some navigators complained to him that the inhabitants would not inform them where their mines were situated, Don John replied, with great wisdom: "Do not enquire; treat them kindly; trade with them according to the rules of equity; carry them such things as they are fond of, and you will have the produce of the

"mines without the trouble of digging." This prince well knew how important it is for a sovereign to be exact in the observance of usages. In this respect he was exceedingly scrupulous. Some person represented to him, one day, that a certain formality, to which he subjected himself, was a mere trifle—"You may call it a trifle, as long as you please," replied he, "but my example is all ways of consequence." Finding himself without legitimate children, he was desirous of leaving his crown to a natural son, named George, whom he had educated with that view; but it being intimated to him that this choice might occasion trouble in the kingdom, he sacrificed his own satisfaction to the peace of his subjects.

Don Emanuel, who followed him, has been called the Fortunate, for three reasons: First, because he attained to the throne, though a remote branch of the royal family, being only the great-grandson of Alphonso V. Secondly, because almost every thing he engaged in succeeded. In the last place, he was so much beloved and esteemed, and such an idea was entertained of his abilities, that, when he did not succeed, the thing he had undertaken was supposed to be impossible. A third happiness, and the greatest of all, Don John had humbled the nobility; but Don Emanuel restored them to their former consequence. His good disposition induced him to protect the Jews, whom his subjects maltreated; but the

Don Emanuel, 1495.



Portuguese, being no longer able to harass these unfortunate people, required that they should be expelled. This was the only occasion on which Emanuel experienced opposition from his subjects.

He was engaged in no wars but such as he wished, and which were confined to Africa. His habitual success made full compensation for a few accidental reverses, which he experienced. Emanuel lived on very good terms with his neighbours. Sincerity presided over his treaties, and firmness in the execution of them. No king ever displayed so much magnificence. He was indebted for it to the discoveries which had been already made under his predecessors, and which, continued under his protection, rendered his kingdom, as we shall see hereafter, the centre of the commerce of the whole world. He was fond of inspiring foreigners with an exalted idea of his power, by means of splendid embassies. In regard to his subjects, they had only to look around them to contemplate the magnificence of the edifices which were erecting: colleges, churches, palaces, and hospitals; to behold the numerous fleets which issued from their ports, the opulence of the great, the easy circumstances of the lower classes, the satisfaction painted on their countenances, and the cheerfulness which prevailed in the country, as well as in the towns, to conceive the highest opinion of the monarch who was the author of all these benefits.

The plague made its appearance under his reign, as it had done under those of his predecessors. No reason can be conceived why this scourge, which is no longer known in Portugal, should have been so common there formerly. Famine never approached its coasts, though it destroyed the Africans, to whom the compassionate Emanuel stretched out the hand of assistance. Through a mania, which was observed in other kings of Portugal, when at the summit of grandeur, he proposed to descend from it, and to abdicate the throne; but as he perceived that a suspicion only of his plan had made his son assume an imperious behaviour, and that the crowd of courtiers were already turning towards the rising sun, he prudently desisted, and grasped closer the sceptre which he was about to let drop from his hand. By a very uncommon instance of good fortune, his son abjured, without regret, the hopes with which he had been flattered, and continued as before to promote his father's felicity. His other children rendered him equally happy. He spared nothing therefore that could contribute to their satisfaction; and made it his chief pleasure to anticipate their wishes. Being an affectionate father and a tender husband, he spent, amidst the sweetest familiarity in the bosom of his family, all those moments which he could spare from the business of the state.

Emanuel was always faithfully served by his ministers. Besides the time occupied by the councils, at which he never failed to be present, he was ready to converse with them on every occasion. Sometimes, when he met them in the palace, he would take them by the hand, and conduct them into his closet. "Come," said he, "we are alone; have you nothing to tell me?" He amused himself with them in hunting and at tennis. On their return, he would say: "We are tired with play; let us recreate ourselves with business."

It is allowed that if he had faults, they were only virtues carried to excess. For example, too much confidence, which exposed him to deception, because being of a candid disposition, he never suspected a want of sincerity in others; and too much familiarity with his domestics: yet we do not find that it ever made him be treated with disrespect. He wore mourning for men of merit who died in his service. He was fond of music, gardening, and literary men, and cultivated the sciences himself. He was accounted the most expert geographer of his time. From his accession to the throne till the period of his death, Emanuel was always the father of his people; just without severity, compassionate without weakness, and pious without affectation. As a last trait in his character, it is said that he banished



poverty and distress from his kingdom. An epidemical fever, which terminated in a mortal disease, carried him off at the age of fifty-three; when, on account of his temperance, good constitution, and regular life, his subjects had still reason to flatter themselves with a long state of felicity.

They were not, however, deprived of it under his son Don John III. This prince possessed, in a great measure, the noble qualities of his father, and particularly his discernment in the choice of ministers. One of them, named Don Antonio, seems to have enjoyed his confidence in preference to all others. The following anecdote will enable the reader to judge whether he deserved it. The lord of Azambuja, who was descended from one of the oldest families in the kingdom, found himself obliged, by the derangement of his affairs, and the expences he had incurred in the king's service, to sell his lands. "They lie adjacent to you," said the king to Antonio; "you will do well to purchase them. "Your majesty," replied the minister, "will do much better, if you enable the proprietor to keep them; for he and his ancestors have been ruined only by the services which they have rendered to the crown." The king followed this advice, and by a generous action prevented the fall of an illustrious family.

If this prince, who in other respects had an excellent character, did not establish the inquisition,

Don John  
III. 1521.

already in existence, he may at any rate be reproached with having suffered it to assume an inexorable authority, under which the Portuguese have long groaned. Don John imagined that by these means he should reform the morals of the people, by purifying christianity among them; but he only made hypocrites, who are worse than infidels. This prince had the mortification of seeing death extend his scythe over his family, and mow down, without distinction, the old and young of both sexes. He himself fell the last under its destructive edge, leaving only one child, three years of age, destined, by his imprudence, to be the cause of misfortune to his people.

Don Sebastian, 1157.

The regency, during the minority of this child, named Don Sebastian, was exceedingly turbulent. It was abandoned by his grandmother, through necessity, and passed into the hands of the cardinal, Don Henry, his uncle. The tutors, whom he appointed for his pupil, represented to him, as the basis of all the royal virtues, religion and courage; not prudent and cool courage, but, unfortunately, that which consists in seeking out and encountering the greatest dangers. In the like manner, they did not inspire him with that religion which convinces its votaries of the truth of christianity, and forms their manners according to its doctrine; but with an impetuous fanaticism, which hurries on men to overturn and destroy every thing not agreeable to the principles they profess; so that

Don Sebastian, from his very infancy, was inflamed with a desire of giving proofs of his intrepidity, or of his implacable hatred to Mahometanism. It was this fatal enthusiasm which conducted him to Africa against the Moors, notwithstanding the entreaties of the most prudent people about court, and the remonstrances of foreign princes, who interested themselves for his welfare.

No prince was ever better forewarned of the dangers of an enterprize; and never did any man set less value on the advice given to him. The queen and Don Henry forgot their private quarrels, and united their efforts to dissuade him from a project so contrary to his real interests, and so ill suited to the present state of the kingdom. The queen died of grief on account of her grandson's obstinacy; and Don Henry retired to his bishopric. The nobility, whose talents were matured by age and experience, no longer appeared in the council. His ambassadors wrote to him, in the name of the foreign princes at whose courts they resided. Nothing, however, could avert him from his design. The duke of Mascaregnas, so celebrated by his exploits in India, united his entreaties to those of others. To weaken the effect, which the advice of a man so much esteemed might have on the public, the young king called a meeting of physicians, who were made to declare, in consequence of the prudent advice of Mascaregnas, that courage diminished with increase of years,



and that it was not uncommon to see a brave man become timid, towards the close of his days. This was adding derision to insult.

The king of Fez himself, against whom Don Sebastian directed his arms, made representations to him, which displayed rather a sort of compassion for a young giddy youth, who was about to throw himself from a precipice, than either fear or policy. As the pretence assumed by the king of Portugal for the war was a desire of restoring to the throne of Fez and Morocco Muley Mohamet, who had been deprived of his states by his uncle, Muley Moluh, the latter wrote to him, and proved that his nephew was a profligate, a murderer, and a cruel tyrant, unworthy of his assistance. The African king begged his Catholic majesty, with whom he lived on good terms, to second his remonstrances; and, to render them more efficacious, he offered to augment, with ten thousand acres of cultivable land, the territory which the Portuguese had around their fortresses: "Not," said he, "that I dread the issue of the war; but to prevent the useless effusion of human blood."

Moluh, indeed, an old warrior, at the head of a hundred thousand men, had little fear of an army of fifteen thousand, which was approaching his coasts, though furnished with twelve pieces of cannon, a formidable train of artillery for that period. The experience of the African, as soon

as the Portuguese had landed, made him know, by the unskilful manœuvres of the chiefs, that he had little to dread from his soldiers, however brave they might be. He was apprehensive only lest he should not have time to beat them, because he was attacked by a violent fever and thought himself at the point of death. But when the armies were in fight of each other, he gave orders from his litter like an experienced commander.

When both sides were ready to engage, he caused himself to be placed on horseback, that he might have an opportunity of observing whether his dispositions were executed; and after he had satisfied himself on this point, he returned to his litter. On the first attack, the Portuguese infantry had some advantage. Moluh, for a moment, forgot his debility; threw himself from his litter; mounted a horse, and wished to charge himself sword in hand. He was stopped by the guards; but this last effort had so exhausted his strength, that he sunk down in their arms. He was carried back to his litter, and expired putting his finger to his mouth, as a sign that he recommended to them to be silent. A renegado, named Hamet Taba, who remained by the litter, every now and then drew the curtains a little aside, as if to receive the orders of the deceased monarch; while his brother, Muley Hamet, commanded in his room, and gained a complete victory.

Don Sebastian had received a bullet in the shoulder; but, as the wound was not dangerous, he continued to combat, and had two horses killed under him. Several noblemen fell also by his side.

The following are the accounts given of his fate. The first states that the Moors surrounded him; took from him his sword and his arms; and, having secured his person, a quarrel arose among those who had seized him; that one of their generals, having rushed through them when they were just proceeding to blows, in order to terminate the dispute, cut the prisoner down with his sabre, giving him a stroke above the right eye, and that the rest then dispatched him; that Muley Hamet sent next day to the spot where the scene had taken place, when one of the king's valets discovered his master's body among the slain, and that others of the Portuguese recognised it also by very probable marks; for it is allowed that his visage was very much disfigured. His body was conveyed from Fez to Ceuta, and from Ceuta to Portugal, where it was interred. The other relation is that of Louis Brito, a Portuguese nobleman. Retiring from the combat, with his colours wrapped round his body, he was met by the king, who said to him, "Hold fast your colours, and let us die upon them." The prince immediately rushed among



the Moors, and was taken. Brito delivered him; but was himself seized, together with the colours. While they were carrying him away, he observed the king, who was not pursued. Don Louis de Lima deposed also, that he met the king advancing towards the river, and that this was the last time he saw him.

All these circumstances are worthy of remark, because about twenty years after, there appeared at Venice a man who called himself Don Sebastian. He gave a very plausible account of what had happened to him. He had dragged himself, he said, from below the dead; and after wandering about some time in Africa, had returned to Portugal, and even to his own palace, where shame prevented him from making himself known. He had the gait, stature, gestures, and voice, of Don Sebastian, and shewed the scars of his wounds, which are said to have been twenty-five in number, and particularly those in his shoulder and over the eye. He was recognized by several of the Portuguese. Having been interrogated by commissioners, whom the senate of Venice appointed for that purpose, they were much astonished to hear him give an account of some secret negotiations with the republic. Struck with his assurance, the invincible firmness of his answers, his modesty, his piety, and the great patience which he shewed under his misfortunes, they durst not declare him an impostor. The Spanish ambassador, however,

required that he should be expelled, and the senate was so much embarrassed, that it did not venture to refuse.

This man retired to Florence, where he was arrested by order of the grand duke of Tuscany, and delivered to count de Lemos, the viceroy of Naples, for the king of Spain, who at that time was in possession of the throne of Portugal. When the prisoner appeared before him, being asked who he was, he replied: "You ought, undoubtedly, to recognize me, as you was twice charged with embassies to my court." He then related some secret circumstances which could have been known to no other person but the prince on the throne at that period. He even astonished two princesses, relations of Don Sebastian, who had the curiosity to ask him some questions in the new castle, where he was well treated.

After the death of Lemos, he was tortured in order to compel him to retract, but he constantly refused to make that disavowal which the Spaniards required from him. They imagined that they should render him contemptible, and change the public opinion, which was declared in his favour, by leading him about, in an ignominious manner, seated on an ass, through the streets of Naples. He was preceded by a public crier, who announced him as an impostor, who called himself Don Sebastian, king of Portugal; and the prisoner always replied, "Yes, I am." When the

crier added that he was a Calabrian, he exclaimed louder: "That is false." After this ceremony, he was detained some time a prisoner in the kingdom of Naples. He was then removed to Castille, where he was shut up in a solitary castle, and never more heard of. For want of better reasons, the Spaniards gave out that he was a magician, and that the devil suggested to him those illusions which made an impression on credulous minds. It must, however, be allowed, that even if he was an impostor, as he had so many probabilities in his favour, attempts should have been made to convict him, and to undeceive the world.

In Portugal, Don Sebastian was considered as dead; and the cardinal Henry, his uncle, assumed the crown at the age of seventy. The first wish of the nation was that he would marry, in order that he might leave heirs in the direct line, and thus prevent a civil war, with which the kingdom was threatened. A dispensation having been proposed for the old cardinal, as a priest and a bishop, debates took place in the consistory at Rome, on the propriety of granting one; but the decision of this point was suspended for political reasons. From the moment he ascended the throne, the unfortunate Henry heard almost of nothing but successors. Two competitors had nearly an equal right: Philip II. king of Spain, and the

Don Henry,  
1578.



duchess of Braganza. Henry loved the latter, and dreaded the former, but he hated the prince of Crato, his nephew, who would have had a much better right, had he been able to prove his legitimacy. Wavering in his choice, Don Henry died before he came to any determination. He thought he had sufficiently provided for the tranquillity of the kingdom by naming five governors, in whose hands the sovereign power was to be deposited after his death, and during the interregnum. The grand affair respecting the succession was to be debated in their presence; but it had been already determined before his decease.

Philip II.

1610.

Philip III.

1608.

Philip IV.

1721.

Of the five governors or regents, three were in the interest of Philip II. king of Spain; but he had in his favour a voice more decisive, that of a considerable army commanded by the duke of Alba, and assembled on the frontiers of Portugal. The kingdom was far being in a state capable of opposing an effectual resistance to so formidable a force. The army advanced, therefore, with good order and discipline, and found no one to oppose them on the way, but the prince of Crato, who had caused himself to be proclaimed king by the populace of Lisbon. His troops, composed of people collected in haste; badly armed and badly commanded, were dispersed by the first attack. The prince wandered about through the kingdom

for a year, though a price was set on his head, but he at length escaped and ended his days in France.

Philip abstained from visiting Portugal till it had submitted, in order that he might not appear to enjoy it by the right of conquest. Three of the five regents gained over, and the other two persuaded or compelled, had proclaimed him by a general decision; so that the act of taking possession was preceded or accompanied by all the legal forms necessary on such occasions. Those, however, most gratifying to a good king were wanting: the joy and approbation of the people.

It was a long time before the Portuguese could be accustomed to the yoke of the Castilians, or rather they were never reconciled to it at all. Philip, at first, endeavoured to tame them by caresses; but he afterwards treated them like ferocious beasts which have suffered themselves to be enchained. He gave to his successors the example of breaking all the promises made for the preservation of the privileges, and the integrity of the kingdom. His governors oppressed the people, both by overcharging them in regard to the taxes, and in the manner of levying them. The fortresses were neither preserved nor repaired. The Portuguese troops were not paid. The navy was removed from its natural destination, the defence of the coasts, and the protection of the African and Asiatic possessions. Being united to

that famous fleet, called the *Invincible Armada*, it perished almost entirely in the disastrous expedition which Philip undertook against England. Portugal was punished for its fatal alliance with Castille. It beheld its finest colonies invaded by the Dutch, during the long war which they maintained, in order to extricate themselves from the yoke of Spain. The whole face of the kingdom was covered with the most horrid wretchedness. People of the least penetration clearly perceived that the Spaniards intended to make it a province of Spain; and that poverty and weakness were the means they intended to employ in order to accomplish their end.

The Portuguese pride was, at length, roused to an indignant sense of the oppression under which the kingdom groaned; and it resumed its former energy after a restraint of sixty years. Some bond, however, was necessary to unite the discontented nobility. They could, indeed, read in each others eyes their secret wishes; but they durst not venture to communicate them. One man conceived the design of breaking the ice, and putting an end to this state of uncertainty. He was steward to the duke of Braganza, and named John Pinto Ribeiro. This nobleman, descended from the royal family, had an incontestible right to the crown; and on that account was more narrowly watched by the Spaniards than any of the rest; but Pinto found means to



deceive the spies, and to bring together to a conference the nobility, most useful to his design; without endangering or exposing his master, who was apparently or really ignorant of the plan.

The character of the duke of Braganza seemed to be exceedingly well suited to the circumstances of the moment. He was mild, modest, and void of ambition; so that if he was suspected by the Spaniards, he did nothing that could excite their jealousy; but he had rights, and the rights of others are always a source of alarm to those who usurp them. He possessed so much moderation, that the nobility, who had leagued together, doubted whether he would sacrifice his tranquillity for the splendour of royalty. Pinto, being consulted, durst not, or pretended that he durst not, give an answer in the affirmative. He introduced to his master the deputy of the nobility, in order that they might themselves judge how far they could depend on that prince. Just at this period, Braganza was called to Madrid, under pretences so weak, that he could entertain no doubt of their concealing a design to detain him a captive. In this perplexity he consulted the duchess, his spouse, who replied with great acuteness: "Death  
" awaits you at Madrid, and will perhaps reach you  
" at Lisbon; but there you will die like a miserable  
" prisoner; here you will fall covered with glory,  
" and as a king: this is the worst that can hap-  
" pen. But let us place our chief confidence in

“ the affection of the people, the justice of your  
“ right, and the Divine protection.”

All the necessary measures were concerted, and the nobility only waited for the consent of the prince to begin to carry them into execution. As soon as it was obtained, every thing was put in motion. Several of the principal citizens of Lisbon had been gained over, or voluntarily exposed themselves to seduction. Under a pretence of the stagnation of commerce, the manufacturers dismissed their workmen, in order that hunger and misery might induce them to rise with more readiness. The conspirators assembled at the house of one of the party. The points of attack being marked out; and the different posts assigned, those engaged in the plan proceeded, by different ways, on foot, on horseback, in litters, and by every conveyance possible, that they might excite no suspicion, to the palace inhabited by the vice-queen and the secretary of state Vasconellos, who possessed unlimited authority. Pinto, when he saw almost the whole of the conspirators assembled, gave the signal by discharging a pistol; upon which they all rushed in by different gates; cut down the guards; ascended to the apartment of Vasconellos, and having dispatched him, threw the body from a window. They next obliged the vice-queen to sign an order to the governor to surrender the citadel, which was complied with. The duke of Braganza remained, in the mean

time, on the other side of the Tagus waiting for the event. On being informed of it, he stepped into a boat; crossed the river, and was received with acclamations by the people, who had repaired, in crowds, to the bank from all quarters of the city. Pinto's signal had been given at eight o'clock in the morning. At noon all the shops were open; and business had resumed its usual course.

The Spanish minister employed every effort, both by arms and intrigue, to recover his power in Portugal. Don John frequently found himself surrounded by conspiracies; but he escaped all these secret plots, sometimes by his prudence, and sometimes by fortunate chances. Several of these plots were so well laid by the duke of Olivarez, the Spanish minister, that some of Don John's best ministers, having been rendered suspected, paid with their heads for the suspicions inspired into their master. Their innocence was afterwards discovered; but the motives of diffidence, continually and artfully renewed by the emissaries of Spain, kept the king, in the midst of his court, a long time in a state of tormenting perplexity.

Don John  
IV. 1640.

The Portuguese, though rendered almost defenceless by the perfidious precautions which the council of Spain had before employed, resisted the first attacks. The peasants came alternately



to the camp, and returned to their cottages; they fought one day and laboured the next. They were exercised and trained to discipline by Don John, with the assistance of foreign officers, whom he collected from all countries. By skirmishes, for the success of which every proper preparation had been made, he emboldened and encouraged them, and even proceeded to decisive battles, which he won. His ambassadors, scarcely tolerated before, appeared then with splendour in foreign courts, notwithstanding secret attacks and public threats, as well as money lavished, and other means employed by the Spanish ministers, in those courts where they resided, to get the Portuguese dismissed; so that Don John, at the time of his death, was universally acknowledged king of Portugal.

His manners were not changed by his elevation. It only called forth virtues which would have otherwise remained in obscurity. He has been styled the Fortunate; but he might with great propriety be surnamed the Good and the Beneficent. He, however, wasted too much time in the chase. As he was one day going out from Lisbon to enjoy that amusement, the civil magistrate came up to him, and having made him a low bow, laid hold of the bridle of his horse, and conducted him back to the palace without saying a word. The king returned also

equally silent. This dumb remonstrance had the desired effect; and the king became less attached to his favourite relaxation.

From the hands of Don John, the sceptre passed into those of Alphonso VI. his son, who was under the tutelage of the queen, his mother. Faults which became vices were tolerated in this young prince, on account of some natural infirmities. He had a brother, Don Pedro, whose education being more manly and less neglected, was attended with better success. The mother, it is said, was more attached to the younger. Those who hoped to profit by the misunderstanding, which they expected to create between the two brothers, did not fail to point out this preference to the eldest; and the jealousy he conceived on that account kept him at a distance from his mother. She had governed with universal applause, during the minority of Alphonso; and judging, by some imprudences, the sign of a weak mind, that he was incapable of presiding at the helm of affairs, she endeavoured to retain the direction of it; but was driven from her seat by the favourites. Whether she inspired the younger brother with a desire of dethroning the elder, or pointed out to him the means to be adopted in the winding path he pursued, in order to attain to his object, is not known. She died before that event, leaving her children in a state

Alphonso  
VI. 1656.

of complete variance, though she exhorted them to concord on her death-bed.

The marriage of the king had just been concluded with a French lady, Mademoiselle d'Aumale, princess of Nemours, who risked the union, though a report had been spread that Alphonso was impotent. It has even been said that the first glance of the queen's eye, on her arrival, was less favourable to the king than to his brother, and that the latter understood it. It is, at any rate, certain, that they were perfectly unanimous in every thing which took place respecting the monarch.

The queen mother had already tried what could be done against him, by carrying off, before his eyes, two of his greatest favourites, who were sent to reside as private individuals in Brasil. Though historians have represented Alphonso as brutal, subject to transports of passion, and even ferocious, he contented himself with complaints; and we know no instance of his having avenged this insult. Those around him knew, therefore, already, that nothing was necessary but to assume boldness, and they did so. Don Pedro endeavoured to gain over the people of Lisbon, and particularly the clergy, by a great affectation of piety. At the same time, he shewed every respect for his brother, and an apparent pity for his extravagant whims and inconstancy, which, in private, were considered as proceeding from insanity.



This supposed state of madness served as a pretence to deprive him, partly with his consent and partly by force, sometimes of one minister and sometimes of another, according as they were thought more or less capable to support him; so that this unfortunate prince, placed on purpose in the most difficult and dangerous circumstances, found himself without a council. He was often heard to lament this destitute and melancholy condition. While he was almost abandoned, the queen still added to the wretchedness of the unfortunate Alphonso by retiring to a convent. She wrote a letter, filled with reproaches, on account of the insupportable manner in which he had behaved towards her, and she concluded, by saying, that he well knew she was not his wife.

This first attack was not suffered to cool. The council assembled and declared that Alphonso, for the good of the kingdom, ought to abdicate, and to resign the crown to Don Pedro. When this resolution was formed, the counsellors of state, in a body, presented it to the king; but he refused to comply. Don Pedro repaired to the palace, and caused his brother to be arrested in his apartment. A man, suborned for the purpose, endeavoured to persuade him, that if he resigned he would be set at liberty. Having agreed, they then wished him to sign a declaration that his marriage was void. He requested leave to con-

fer with the doctors of the church, and the demand being granted, the result of the consultation was, that he signed the paper in question. Don Alphonso was immediately declared to be no longer king ; but as this proclamation appeared to be too precipitate, he was declared regent of the kingdom.

Don Pedro  
IV. 1667.

Don Pedro was only twenty-one years of age when appointed regent ; and his youth made some believe, that he neither contrived nor directed the revolution. Though the queen was not older, the early talents which women acquire for intrigue gives probability to an opinion, then propagated, that she had been the soul of the whole plot. Don Alphonso did not seem sensible of his misfortune till the evening, when, finding himself alone, he begged his brother to send John, the whipper-in, to keep him company. This humble request, whether dictated by the bitterness of grief or the delirium of despair, affected Don Pedro, and he melted into tears ; reflecting, no doubt, on the unhappy fate of his brother. This sensibility does honour to his heart ; but from the queen he did not receive so much as a sigh.

The states having confirmed the regency to Don Pedro, one of his first cares was to re-establish the police of Lisbon, which Alphonso had absolutely destroyed by his bad example. He used to run through the streets, in the night time, and strike all those whom he met. He is even accused of

having wounded several persons during these nocturnal excursions. It need excite no astonishment, therefore, that he should have displeased a French lady, of delicate and polite manners. Being freed from her slovenly husband, she exerted herself to obtain what, no doubt, had been the object of her wishes: that is, that she might still remain on the throne, and occupy it with a husband agreeable to her taste.

To save appearances, it was necessary to persuade the public, that the marriage of Don Pedro was an affair of prudence and policy, and not of love. The princess of Nemours, in her convent, spoke of getting the marriage disannulled, merely that she might recover her dowry and retire to France. The marriage was declared void with the consent of Alphonso, who acknowledged, as truth, what the queen had asserted. Being thus rendered free, she might have departed; but the states begged her to remain, declaring, that they neither could nor would pay her portion, and that the only way to discharge the debt, was to espouse Don Pedro. A writer of romance would give to the princess, when she heard this proposal, an air of embarrassment and reserve, and would tinge her cheeks with the crimson blush of modesty. All that we know, however, is that she observed a decent silence.

The deputies of the states waited on the prince, and represented this marriage to him as necessary



for the tranquillity of the kingdom. As this measure concerned an advantage of so much importance, the regent made no hesitation. He agreed, provided the consent of the princess could be obtained. The deputies returned, and found her ready to comply with their wishes. Few marriages have been conducted with so much diplomatic form. It was celebrated with great pomp. Don Alphonso, in his prison, was informed of it, by the thundering of cannon. At first, he was a little surprised at the news; but soon recovering his spirits, he said, he pitied his brother, and that he would, doubtless, be as soon tired of the French woman as he had been himself. However odious this husband may have been to the princess, there is reason to believe that, if she knew this reflection, she was not indifferent to it.

Don Pedro, that he might not have before his eyes an object which seemed continually to reproach him, banished his brother to the island of Tercera, as to an agreeable retreat, where he would be in safety, and might enjoy the pleasures of the chase. Some reports, spread abroad, that it was intended, when removed to a distance, to put him to death, and the murmurs and discontent which thence ensued, made him be withdrawn from that island; but his friends did him a bad office, for he lost the enjoyment of a very extensive district which had been granted to him, and was shut up in the castle of Cintra, near Lis-

bon, where he died after fifteen years' confinement. When attacked by the illness which put a period to his existence, he said: "I am going; but the queen will soon follow me, to answer, before an awful tribunal, for the evils she has done to me."

She, indeed, did not long survive him; and saw her second husband enjoy the title of king only for a few months. As for her, she always assumed that of queen; though she derived it only from her former marriage, and though the deficiency of that union, publicly declared, ought to have deprived her of the honours arising from it. Don Pedro always entertained for her the utmost esteem and respect; and placed great confidence in her talents in regard to the management of public affairs. Her private amours were confined to a class of people too obscure to excite jealousy. This prince has been considered, and with justice, as a profound politician. It has been remarked in him as a fault, that he depended too little on his own judgment in his decisions. His ministers were more masters than himself. On this account, the English ambassador, in one of his letters to queen Anne, humourously said, "We have only one friend in the council, that is the king; but he has very little influence."

Don John had only to follow the plan of policy traced out to him by his father, in order to keep a just balance between France and the house of

Don John  
V. 1700.

Austria, who disputed for the crown of Spain; to make himself be courted by both parties, and to procure the support of England without rendering himself its slave. In this he perfectly succeeded, as well as in holding a rank among the most considerable powers of Europe: a distinction of which he was exceedingly ambitious. He was happy in his family, and left a numerous progeny.

Joseph,  
1750.

He was succeeded by his son Joseph, who had the mortification of seeing his capital overturned, and in a great measure destroyed by a dreadful earthquake. This misfortune was soon followed by a terrible conspiracy, which nearly cost him his life. He was wounded, and escaped from the hands of the assassins only by a kind of miracle. The criminals were punished; and the Jesuits, concerned in this affair, were banished from Portugal. This disgrace was the signal for their expulsion from other kingdoms, and for the destruction of the order. It appears that the motives of this plot, by which the life of Joseph was endangered, were partly religious, partly political, and partly connected with gallantry. It must be left to posterity to unfold them. A history like that of Portugal, so fruitful in events, which often shook the throne and made the sceptre pass from one family to another, deserves to end with a conspiracy.

Don Joseph had only daughters, the eldest of whom married her uncle, Joseph's brother. After



her father's death she caused her husband to be placed on the throne along with her. They have children who ensure it to their posterity.

### NAVARRRE.

THE inhabitants of Navarre, placed in an excellent climate, and enjoying salubrious air, have as much corn as is necessary for their subsistence, with succulent fruits and excellent wine. They are tall, well made, robust, lively, and brave. This kingdom is of small extent; but it affords nourishment to abundance of cattle. Its water is limpid. Its rivers, which are not large but numerous, produce excellent fish. Its mountains are covered with beautiful woods. Navarre contains the Pyrenees within its boundaries. The summits of these mountains, which ought to have imbibed only the blood of the game found there, and of the ferocious animals, bears, and wolves, have often been tinged with that of the inhabitants, in their wars with each other, and against their neighbours; but particularly against the Moors.

Navarre,  
between  
Gascony,  
Bigorre,  
Aragon,  
Castille,  
and Biscay.

The materials for the history of Navarre have been collected chiefly from the charters preserved in monasteries. We find there that the first association of the lords of Navarre, about 758, was formed on account of the obsequies of a hermit,

named John. Either by convocation, or through some pious impulse, there were assembled at this funeral, besides a multitude of the common order, two hundred gentlemen, who chose for their chief Don Garcias Ximenes, a Spanish nobleman. This chief did not deceive their hopes. He led them against the Saracen infidels, whom he defeated. His successors under the name of counts were subjected by Charlemagne. This prince experienced in their country a great check at Roncevaux. Aznar rendered himself independent in 836. In 857 Don Garcias Ximenes had already the title of king. Don Fortuno Garcias, his eldest son, who succeeded him, governed his states with glory for many years, and ended his days in a monastery which he had erected.

Some account, in this manner, for the voluntary retirement, of which the ancient kings of Navarre gave frequent examples. It was no mark of weakness on their part, for the little learning which then prevailed was to be found among the monks. They were of great use in polishing infant kingdoms; and the kings who derived from them salutary advice, frequented their company. As it was necessary that these kings, surrounded by many enemies, should possess a great deal of activity, and often command their armies in person, it was a mark of prudence, and a proof of their zeal for the public good, when rendered incapable of performing these duties, to retire like

Don Fortuno Garcias, to places where they could find an assemblage of that knowledge which renders society agreeable, and makes the time pass away amidst pleasure. After a glorious reign of twenty-five years, Don Fortuno put on the monastic dress, in order that the state might derive benefit from the talents of his brother, who was in the flower of his age, and consequently much fitter to extend the boundaries of his kingdom, and to defend it against the infidels. The apologists of this monastic fervor add, that the spectacle of a king practising, with humility in a cloister, that religion which he was no longer able to defend by his arms, was an encouragement to the people, whose zeal had need of that stimulus to enable them to support the fatigue of the continued wars in which they were involved with the infidels. Such was the origin of the pious foundations, with which Navarre was covered, and of the devotion that induced the sovereigns to immure themselves within their walls.

It was from the abbey of Leyra, to which he had retired in order to finish his days in tranquillity, that Don Sancho issued, in 921, to assist his son and successor against Abderamen, king of Cordova. He gained a celebrated battle, and returned to his monastery, where he died covered with glory, at an advanced age. In 994, another Garcias, styled the *Quaker*, defeated the famous Almanzor. The above title was given to Don



Garcias, because, by an involuntary movement, he trembled at the commencement of a battle; but after this kind of tribute paid to nature, he became terrible in the heat of action.

Don Sancho his son, who reigned in the year 1000, has been surnamed the Great. He paid particular attention to the monasteries, the discipline of which had been relaxed. These avocations, however, did not prevent him from being a conqueror. He united Castille to Navarre; but after having extended that kingdom to a very large size, he reduced it to its former mediocrity, by dividing it among his four sons. With these portions, he bequeathed to them, contrary to his intention, discord and war. Don Garcias of Navarre perished in a battle against Don Ferdinand the Castillian, his brother. Don Sancho IV. son of Don Garcias, was assassinated, in 1076, by Don Raymond, his brother. The king of Castille, uncle to the assassin, took advantage of the troubles by which this murder was followed, to dismember Biscay from Navarre. Don Sancho V. joined Arragon to Navarre. He reigned, with glory, about the year 1100. Alphonso the Valiant, after a great many victories, by which he acquired that title, being defeated in a last battle, retired, through shame, to a monastery, and died there, in 1134, without leaving posterity.

The states assembled, and chose Don Pedro Acares, of the house of Arragon. He was suc-

ceeded, in 1150, by Don Sancho the Wise, who was followed by Don Sancho VII. surnamed the Strong, the Courageous, and also the Recluse. He acquired the last title, because towards the close of his days, being loaded with infirmities, and afflicted with a cancer, he never suffered himself to be seen. This prince having gone to Africa on a marriage expedition, was detained there contrary to the laws of nations; but he escaped and returned to his states, which he found invaded and dismembered. He however collected its scattered parts, and, as he had no children, left them, in 1234, to Thibault, son to one of his sisters, who had espoused a count of Champagne and Brie, of the same name.

Thibault joined the crusaders, and undertook a journey to the Holy Land, from which he brought back two things of utility: experience in governing, and excellent fruits, which he naturalised in Navarre. The people of Navarre are indebted to his care for their wine, the good kinds of which may vie with the best of France. Thibault caused magnificence and politeness to prevail in his court. He excelled himself in music and poetry; was fond of the sciences, and protected men of letters. He left the sceptre, in 1253, to Thibault his son, then a minor under the guardianship of his friend, the king of Arragon. He espoused a daughter of St. Louis. He engaged in the crusades with that prince, and died as he was

returning from the unfortunate expedition against Tunis. During that time Navarre was governed by his brother Henry, who assumed the crown because Thibault had no children; but he did not long enjoy it. He left it to his daughter Jean, two years of age, who in 1248 espoused Philip the Fair.

Louis Hutin, the son of Jean, when he succeeded to the crown of France, after the death of his father, assumed that also of Navarre. He had one daughter named likewise Jean, to whom Navarre belonged. But Philip the Long, and Charles the Fair, took the title to the prejudice of their niece. Philip de Valois, however, renounced it, and restored it to Jean, who had married Philip count d'Evreux. He reigned with her in Navarre under the name of Philip III. This couple left a numerous progeny, and the kingdom in a flourishing condition. Charles II. and Charles III. their son and grandson, reigned with a reputation entirely different. The former was styled Charles the Bad, and the latter Charles the Noble and the Generous. Both of them were concerned in most of the public transactions of their time.

Charles the Bad mounted the throne at the age of eighteen, in 1349. After that period, he shewed himself enterprising, bold, and turbulent. John, king of France, had given him his daughter in marriage, with a considerable dowery; but



he required an addition, which was granted, lest his young spouse should suffer by a refusal. Charles the Bad was a friend of Don Pedro the Cruel, and a friend worthy of such a prince, but unfaithful, for while he signed treaties of alliance with the Castillian, he was engaged in negotiations with his enemies. He is accused of premeditated assassinations; of having delighted in commotions, and of having excited them wherever he went. His presence inspired terror, like those phenomena which precede great calamities. His father-in-law, John, and his brother-in-law, Charles V. experienced the effects of his profound malice. He has been publicly charged with an attempt to poison John; and with having accomplished his object in regard to Charles. He has been weakly defended from these imputations. It is said that he was burnt alive, in cloth moistened with brandy, in which he had caused himself to be wrapped up, in order to ease the pains of the rheumatism, and which had caught fire by accident. This fact is not well authenticated, but it is certain, that whatever may have been his malady, he died amidst the most cruel torments, which were considered as a just punishment for his crimes.

His son, Charles the Noble, when he became king, in the year 1387, at the age of twenty-five, had as great talents as his father, but directed to the public good. He possessed neither

his vivacity, nor his persuasive eloquence; but he exceeded him in mildness, affability, and the graces. He was a good husband, an affectionate father, and lived on good terms with his neighbours. The courts of France and Spain both had recourse to his abilities and experience, in order to reconcile their differences. He left only one daughter, named Donna Blanche, whom he married to Don John, prince of Arragon, and who had become a mother, when her father died in 1425.

The prince of Arragon despised Navarre as a wild and rude country, when compared with Arragon and Castille. He seldom went thither, and when he did, remained in it only a short time. He, however, levied from it very large contributions. Besides exhausting the kingdom by these collections, he did great hurt to Navarre by the troubles which he excited in it by his impetuous disposition. Don John had given one of his daughters in marriage to Henry prince of Castille, who has been surnamed the Impotent. He instigated his son-in-law against his own father. His son, Don Carlos, prince of Vianne, heir to the kingdom of Navarre, of which his father, as the husband and widower of Donna Blanche, had only the emoluments, was of a character quite different from that of his father. On some occasions, he refused to be concerned in his unjust measures. He was persecuted by Don John,

who banished him from Navarre, and disinherited him, as well as his youngest daughter, the widow of Henry the Impotent, and conferred their rights on his youngest daughter Leonora, countess of Foix. Don Carlos died without issue, either of a broken heart or by poison. The unfortunate widow of Henry, the Impotent, given up to her sister, was also poisoned after a severe captivity.

Thus the kingdom of Navarre fell to the house of Foix about 1467, without being abandoned by Don John, who would not resign his right. Besides this, he was king of Arragon; but being always at war with some power or other, he was not rich, since it was necessary to pledge the regalia of the crown, in order to defray the expences of his humble funeral. Leonora did not assume the title of queen, till after the death of her father, in 1479. She survived that period only a few months, and left the crown to her grandson, Phœbus, the issue of Gaston de Foix, her eldest son, and Germaine of France, the daughter of Louis XI.

Phœbus, so called on account of his great beauty, was only fifteen years of age. His mother, who doated on him, took care to give him an excellent education; and when a little farther advanced in life, she introduced him into the government. He was then seen to pursue a conduct very different from that which commonly prevails in minorities. In general, the tutor acts under



the name of the minor; but here the king acted in person, while all the public orders were issued in the name of the mother. This prince, who gave great hopes of his future conduct, died unmarried at too early an age, and as believed by poison. The kingdom was so much agitated by the factions of Gramont and Beaumont, two rival houses, that it would not be surprising, if Phœbus shewed a partiality for one of them, that the other had endeavoured to get rid of him in that manner. Navarre by his death devolved to Catherine de Foix his sister. Their mother Germaine married her, in 1484, to John d'Albert, count de Perigord, to the great regret of Ferdinand the Catholic, king of Arragon, who had endeavoured to procure that rich heiress for his son.

The king of Arragon, incensed at this refusal, harassed Navarre by continual attacks; and, at length, invaded the greater and finest part of it in 1512, without giving himself the trouble to legitimate his usurpation by any claims. John d'Albert protested and exclaimed against this robbery and injustice, but proceeded no farther. He might, however, have done more, if we can give credit to the following severe reproach of his wife: "Had I been John, and you Catherine, we should have remained king and queen of Navarre." Ferdinand left to them Lower Navarre, beyond the Pyrenees, towards France.

Their son Henry II. might have recovered his kingdom, had not France, at that period, been so much occupied with other interests, that it was able to give him only a feeble assistance. He was taken with Francis I. at the battle of Pavia, and had he not found means to escape, Charles V. would not certainly have released a prisoner of so much importance. Henry by fortifying and enriching his small state, shewed what he would have done in a large one. He married his daughter Jean to Anthony, duke of Vendome, by whom she had Henry IV. who, raised to the throne of France, in 1589, united to it what still remained of the kingdom of Navare.

## FRANCE.

If we can believe those authors, who have written on the genealogy of nations, that of the Celts, descended from the Scythians, is the mother of all those people who inundated Gaul, on the downfall of the Roman empire, under the name of the Salii, Allobroges, Tectosages, and Visigoths, and who long disputed that country with the Romans. The latter, several years before, had to struggle against the vigorous instinct of liberty natural to the Gauls. About the year 420, a new horde of barbarians, commanded by Pharamond, issued

France, between the Ocean, the Channel, the Low Countries, Germany, Switzerland, Savoy, Spain, and the Mediterranean.

from the forests of Germany. They penetrated into Gaul under the name of Franks ; but instead of settling there, this chief contented himself with carrying off, several times, to his strong holds the spoils of the inhabitants of that rich country. Clodion, Merovée, and Childeric, his successors, made only temporary incursions into it, and took possession of very small districts. Clovis was the first, who by means of a successful war, and profound, but often barbarous policy, established himself firmly in that country, about the end of the fifth century, and was the father of the first race called the Merovingian.

Merovin-  
gian Kings.  
481.

Two things, of a nature entirely contrary, contributed to the aggrandizement of Clovis: religion and cruelty. By embracing Christianity, he gained the bishops and the clergy, who had a great ascendancy over the people, whom he suffered, however, to enjoy their own laws and customs. At the same time, either by stratagem or open force, he got rid of all the surrounding petty princes, and took possession of their states. He caused Sigebert, king of Cologne, to be assassinated by Clodoric his own son, and Clodoric to be afterwards punished by his own domestics. He then appeared on the frontiers, as if to avenge these murders, and the people, not suspecting him to have been the cause of them, submitted to his authority. Cararic, king of the Morini, and his son, were ordained priests by the order of Clovis;



but as he still entertained some fear that they might endeavour to recover the crown, which they were deprived of by that ceremony, he caused them to be assassinated. He killed with his own hand Ranacaire king of Cambray, and his brother Richiaire, who had been given up to him by their officers. Instead of gold, he paid them with gilt copper. "This is the money," said he ironically, "which is proper for traitors." After committing so many crimes, and undergoing so much labour to form a large kingdom, he converted it, at his death, in 511, into four small ones, by a partition of his states among his four children, under the titles of king of Metz, Orleans, Paris, and Soissons.

Clotilda, his widow, was the guardian of the youngest. She was the daughter of Childeric, king of Burgundy, whom Gondebaud his brother had caused to be put to death in order that he might get possession of his states. The pious Clotilda, who had converted her husband Clovis, believing, as appears, that revenge might be reconciled with religion, armed her sons against their uncle and his children. Clodomir, the eldest of her sons, seconding the animosity of the mother, seized his cousins, and caused them to be thrown into a well. The children of this barbarian were massacred by their uncle Clotaire, before the eyes of their grandmother Clotilda, the mother of the assassin. In those periods, when

sovereigns fell from the throne, it was either to be consigned to a monastery or to the grave.

548.

Among the children and grandchildren of Clovis, we observe only Theobald, or Thibault, king of Metz, who did not consider military talents as the only virtue of kings. He endeavoured to govern with justice, and gave wise laws to his subjects. He is said to have addressed the following apologue to his ministers assembled around him: "A certain man had some excellent wine, which he kept in a large vessel with a very narrow neck. Having left it open, a serpent crept into it, and drank so copiously that it was not able to get out. The owner seeing the animal torment and twist itself a thousand different ways, trying to escape, said: 'Wretched animal, there is only one way by which thou canst return through that narrow passage: that is, to disgorge what thou hast drank.'" These ministers of the sixth century were not much satisfied with the apologue.

565.

About this time appeared two famous rivals, Brunehaut and Fredegonda: the former, a Spaniard married, in 565, to Sigebert king of Austrasia, and the other, the daughter of a peasant of Picardy, first mistress, and then spouse, of Childeric king of Soissons. The latter was raised to that high rank by obtaining from her lover the death of Galsuinta, sister of Brunehaut, whom Childeric had married. This action produced between these

two females an irreconcilable hatred. They both seemed to possess the same talents and abilities, with the same turn for gallantry; or rather the same facility of making their favours contribute to the success of their enterprises.

Sigebert and Childeric were brothers; but their vices involved them in a quarrel, and made them take up arms against each other. Fredegonda, observing that her husband Childeric was not the strongest, caused Sigebert to be assassinated. She watched the favourable moment so well, that she seized her sister-in-law, Brunehaut, at the same time, and detained her prisoner, at Paris, from which Childeric sent her to be guarded at Rouen. This prince had a son, named Merovée, who happening to pass through Rouen, when on an expedition to Poitou, became so enamoured of the captive that he gave her his hand in the presence of Pretextat, the bishop of that city. Fredegonda, incensed by the triumph of her rival, carried Childeric with her to Rouen, where they separated the husband and wife. Brunehaut was sent as an exile to Austrasia; but she found means to excite the Austrasian lords against her father-in-law. She persuaded them that as soon as they took the field Merovée, her husband, who was discontented with his father, would put himself at their head. He had, indeed, begun to make preparations for this expedition, on his return from that of Poitou, but was soon after assassinated. Fredegonda had al-



ready made a trial of her power against Sigebert, her brother-in-law, and no doubt was entertained from what hand the blow had come, which prevented the designs of her son-in-law.

This prince had another brother, named Clovis, the son of Andovera, wife of Childeric, who was still alive; but in a state of banishment and disgrace. Clovis was an eye-sore to Fredegonda, who had just lost, by disease, three sons scarcely from the cradle, whom she had born to Childeric; and she could not think, without grief and vexation, that this prince would one day occupy that throne which she had destined for her children. The wishes and envious jealousy of Fredegonda were so clearly seen, that one of those wretches, who are seldom wanting in depraved courts, accused Clovis of having caused the queen's three sons to be poisoned. The prince was accordingly imprisoned, and preparations were made for bringing him to a kind of trial; but, in the mean time, he was found dead, with a poniard placed near him, to make people believe that he had stabbed himself. Through fear that queen Andovera might be recalled by Childeric, who seemed sometimes not to have entirely forgot her, and that she might communicate some dismal information respecting these events, she was put to death also. Childeric, by these means, found himself at the mercy of a cruel and ambitious woman, who had occasioned the destruction of his whole family.

He was at last assassinated himself while returning from the chace. This crime was ascribed likewise to Fredegonda, who, it is said, committed it that she might not be punished for an amorous intrigue, which she had imprudently suffered to come to the notice of her husband.

Being not much beloved by the subjects of her husband, exposed to the resentment of Brunchaut, who had rendered herself extremely powerful in Austrasia, and having no defence but an infant, four months old, the fruits of her union with Childeric, it might be supposed that she must now have been lost. In this extremity she threw herself into the arms of Gontran, king of Orleans, uncle and god-father of her son Clotaire. This prince took them both under his protection; but he gave the mother some uneasiness respecting the death of Childeric, the authors of which he pretended to have discovered. She, however, extricated herself with great art from his enquiries, by throwing some suspicion on a nobleman, who had been in favour with her, and who, imagining that she was left destitute by the death of her husband, had detached himself from her. Thus Fredegonda had the double pleasure of gratifying her revenge, and of being declared innocent. But Gontran mortified this ambitious woman in a very sensible part. He appointed a council for young Clotaire; and the mother, incited by this blow aimed at her authority, retired to the castle of Verneuil.

In this solitude, as she forgot nothing, Fredegonda planned the assassination of Pretextat, the bishop of Rouen, who had married Brunehaut and Merovée. She formed plots also, though at a distance, against Childebert, king of Austrasia, and her rival. Gontran, at length, drew Fredegonda from this retreat, which she inhabited only through spite, and made her reside with her son Clotaire. On account of a dangerous malady, with which this young prince was attacked, she gave such large presents to the church, either when offering up vows, or returning thanks for the benefit of his health, that by some historians she has been highly extolled.

The two kings, Gontran of Orleans, and Childebert of Austrasia, being both dead, the two rivals, each ruling in the court, where they resided as mothers and grandmothers, found themselves in a condition to attack each other in person. They therefore levied armies; but before they proceeded to actual hostilities, Fredegonda led her son from rank to rank, and inspired the soldiers with so much courage, that they gained a complete victory. It might, no doubt, have been attended with serious consequences to Brunehaut; but Fredegonda died soon after, and left the theatre of crimes occupied by her rival.

She had two grandsons, Theodebert and Thierry, kings of Metz and Burgundy. In order that she might not be restrained in her government, she



not only allowed them amusements, but even contributed to them herself, whether lawful or not. She suffered Theodebert to marry a maid servant, in hopes that she should be able to secure an ascendancy over the husband by means of the wife; but the young spouse, fearing the stratagems of her mother-in-law, caused her to be removed to a distance. When Brunehaut arrived at the court of Burgundy, as she had been unsuccessful in regard to the marriage of the king of Metz, she did every thing in her power to prevent the sovereign of Burgundy from entering into the nuptial bonds; but the nobility, by their earnest entreaties, induced him to act contrary to her wishes. Besides having already three natural children, which did not augur much in regard to his fidelity in the married state, the disposition of the grandmother was so well known, that the king of the Visigoths agreed to give his daughter to Thierry, only on condition of his swearing that the princess should never be degraded from the rank of queen: but she never had the good fortune to attain to it. Brunehaut inspired her grandson with a disgust for his intended spouse, by means of his sister who had great influence over him. The marriage was not celebrated; and after a year spent in disagreeable expectation, the princess was sent back to Spain.

These intrigues are little in comparison of the other manœuvres of Brunehaut. That she might

exclusively retain the supreme authority, she excited wars between her grandsons, and poisoned or caused to be massacred the generals who displeased her. In the course of these hostilities, Theodebert fell into the hands of Thierry, who delivered him up to his grandmother. As the princess remembered that he had removed her from his court, in compliance with the wishes of his wife, that she might disqualify him from retaining the sceptre, she caused his hair to be cut off. Reflecting, afterwards, that there was nothing so effectual as death to extinguish every claim, she got rid of the unfortunate Childebert by poison. It is believed, that she was preparing to treat Thierry in the same manner, in order that she might become mistress of two kingdoms; but a dysentery, with which he was attacked, saved his grandmother from the commission of one crime more.

The death of a king in those periods did not occasion great changes in a kingdom. Under the last of these Merovingian kings, there were *maires du palais*, who exercised unlimited authority. From being domestic officers, they had become, by the indolence of the monarchs, sovereigns in every thing but the title; and they often issued orders, in their own name, which the kings durst not oppose. They presided in the courts of justice; decided on peace and war; and while the indolent monarchs were immersed in sloth, the

*maires du palais* led the French to combat. That of the kingdom of Aufrasia was named Garnier. After the death of Thierry, he continued the war which that prince carried on against Clotaire, duke of Burgundy, his cousin.

Brunehaut, not finding, as appears, this mayor sufficiently tractable, wrote to one of her officers to dispatch him. The officer when he had read the letter tore it, but the fragments were collected, joined together, and carried to Garnier, who communicated the order to the other Aufrasian lords, and they all agreed to deliver up the queen to Clotaire, which was accordingly done.

This prince, who inherited the hatred of his mother, Fredegonda, to Brunehaut, after reproaching that princess severely for all her crimes, abandoned her to the executioners, who led her about, mounted on a camel, through the whole camp, amidst the execrations of the soldiers. After this, they tied her, by one foot and arm, to the tail of a wild horse, which, dragging her at a full gallop, dashed her to pieces. Fredegonda, who died in her bed, deserved the same fate; but though she escaped punishment when alive, her memory has been branded with every mark of infamy by the best historians; while the reputation of Brunehaut has been transmitted to posterity with some marks of esteem. Among her works, worthy of a great queen, are the Roman highways which she repaired, and the new she



constructed, which are still known under the name of Brunehaut's Causeways.

Clotaire II. united under the same sceptre, in 613, all the states of Clovis. This prince encreased the number of the mayors of the palace, some of whom he established in Austrasia, Burgundy, Neustria, and Aquitain; held itinerant parliaments, and committed the same fault as Clovis, by dividing his territories between his two sons, Dagobert and Charibert. Fortune corrected this imprudence by the death of the latter. Dagobert then seized what had been in his possession; and that he might enjoy it in more security, caused his nephew Childeric to be put to death. The magnificence of the court of this prince would appear astonishing, did we not know that, at this period, the riches of the East flowed into France, by its connection with Constantinople, and those of Italy, by the irruptions which the French made into the opulent provinces of that country, from which they never returned, even when expelled, without being loaded with booty.

Riches introduced corruption of manners. Dagobert took publicly three wives, without reckoning concubines. Some Slavonians having made incursions into France, Dagobert sent an ambassador to complain of this violence. The ambassador, proud of his master's power, spoke out with boldness. Samon, who from being a French mer-

chant had become sovereign of these people, returned a submissive answer, and promised to pursue such measures as might tend to preserve the friendship between the two nations. "Friendship," replied the brutal envoy, "can there be any friendship between christians, servants of the true God, and pagan dogs like you?" "Since we are dogs," returned Samon, "we will shew you that we have teeth." He made them feel this indeed, so severely, that the French monarch repented he had ever provoked him.

Dagobert committed the same fault as his <sup>680.</sup> father, and divided his kingdom between his two sons, Sigebert and Clovis II. Under these princes and their successors, the mayors of the palace reigned much more than the kings. About the year 680, two celebrated mayors disputed for the sovereign power. They convulsed courts, altered the succession of princes, and fought battles with each other. A singular fate reduced them to the state of monks. They were both compelled to assume the frock in the abbey of Luxeuil, where they lived, some time, in such a state as may be readily conceived between two such rivals. By successful intrigues, they returned to the palaces from which they had been driven, and continued to harass each other. Ebroin having acquired most strength, caused Liger's eyes to be put out; but he himself was assassinated in his turn.

This period is that of those kings who were styled indolent; because they were more so than their predecessors, though the latter were not destitute of that vice. In 690, Pepin d'Heristel, a plain mayor of the palace, governed all France; but with more authority than the four monarchs whom he saw mount the throne in succession, and under whose name he reigned. His power seemed about to be annihilated at his death, because he left only one legitimate son, almost an infant, under the guardianship of his widow; but he had one older, named Charles Martel, born by a concubine, who maintained the pretensions of his father. He found an adversary, worthy of his character, in Childeric II. who refused to receive him as his mayor of the palace, and undertook to shake off the yoke of these imperious ministers. This prince ought not to be classed among the number of the indolent kings. He was destitute of good fortune rather than of courage. He was not supported by the French nobility, who preferred a mayor, whom they considered as their equal, to a monarch whom they could not help acknowledging as their superior.

Charles Martel signalised his government by victories over the neighbours of France, and over the foreigners who endeavoured to invade it. In 732, he defeated the Saracens in the plains of Poitiers. After the death of Thierri, surnamed of Chelles, an abbey in which he almost always



refided, Charles Martel, though he durst not assume the crown, lest he should find obstacles in the jealousy of the French nobility, was unwilling to see it placed on the head of any other person. He, therefore, tried an interregnum, and continued to rule as sovereign without the phantom of a king. His son, Pepin, who has been surnamed the Short, on account of his low stature, finding that the French had still too much attachment to the family of Clovis, raised to the throne, in 743, Childeric III. one of his descendants; but, after a trial of seven years, finding his power well secured, and no longer dreading an affection which Childeric's incapacity had banished from every heart, he caused the unhappy monarch, together with his son, who was still very young, to be shut up in a monastery. The latter was educated in obscurity, or soon died, and was never after heard of. The Merovingian race ended in 750, after a duration of 270 years.

Pepin had astonishing vigour, notwithstanding his low stature, which is said to have been only four feet and a half. He was not ignorant that some of the nobility were accustomed to speak of his stature in terms of ridicule. In a combat, exhibited before the whole court, between a lion and a bull, the ferocious animal had thrown down the bull, and was about to strangle it: "Which of you," said Pepin to his courtiers, "will go and deliver the bull?" They all ob-

Carlovingi-  
ans. Pepin,  
750.

served silence. "Then I shall," resumed the king, and, at the same time, jumping into the arena, with one blow struck off the head of the lion, and with another that of the bull.

This instance of strength and valour must, no doubt, have made an impression on the minds of these warlike nobility, and acquired him their esteem; but it appears that Pepin's power was still better confirmed by his artful conduct. He shewed great submission to the authority of the popes, who were then much respected. This example, which he gave to the great, was of the utmost service to him, as they durst not oppose decisions in which the king himself acquiesced. When he wished to usurp the crown from the weak Childeric, he proposed to the sovereign pontiff this political problem: "Is it proper to add power to the title of king, or the title of king to power?" The answer was agreeable to his views. It was agreeable also to reason; if we suppose that the power had not been detached from the title by stratagem or force. But when the people are once persuaded, they do not examine things so closely.

Pepin knew, also, how to gain their affection by an appearance of confidence. He frequently held assemblies of the nation, and communicated to them his designs, in a manner agreeable to his views. After their decision, which he took care should be previously secured in his

favour, he charged himself with the execution of it as a duty of his office, leaving to the assemblies the honour of having formed and arranged the plans. He was thus apparently the minister of their will, while they only followed his. In a word, he always kept the nation in activity, both by these assemblies and by the wars which he undertook. While he was subduing Aquitain and Bavaria, beating the Saxons, making the French character be respected in Italy, dictating laws even to Rome, and giving to its inhabitants the spectacle of a pope who came to implore his protection, his subjects had no time to think of plots, or to form conspiracies against his authority or his life. No usurper, therefore, if he deserves that title, ever lived with so much tranquillity in that respect. Pepin died a natural death, at the age of fifty-four. To render his name illustrious, he had no need of the epitaph inscribed on his tomb: "Here lies Pepin, the father of Charlemagne."

This prince was as big as his father was little. Charlemagne, 768. He is said to have been seven feet in height; he had a robust constitution, with a majestic air, and was, at the same time, cheerful and affable. His states were extended from the Baltic sea to the Pyrenees, and from the British channel to the Mediterranean, including Italy. He used to travel with great rapidity from one extremity of his dominions to the other; for it appears that he had no fixed habitation. He had palaces in the



north, the south, and the centre, and resided in them as he found it most convenient: a method extremely useful for the people, who, by these means, partake, in succession, of the riches of the court, and are less harassed, if the prince is a man capable of watching over the conduct of those who govern under him. This was the great talent of Charlemagne. He knew how to make a proper choice of ministers and generals, and to direct them in the council as well as in the field. Being equally respectable as a legislator and a warrior, he promulgated regulations the wisdom of which is admired, and the noise of his victorious arms has resounded throughout the whole world.

These laws are called *capitularies*, because they were drawn up in chapters. They were made in the general assemblies, with the advice and consent of the nobility and prelates present. In these assemblies, business and pleasure went hand in hand. Great luxury was displayed on these occasions; but at other times the monarch was as frugal in regard to his table, as he was modest in his dress. This seems to be fully proved by the sumptuary laws, preserved among the capitularies. Charlemagne supported these laws, both by his example and by remonstrances. Having observed that the courtiers were accustomed to wear silk dresses, with furs of great value, and seeing them one day ornamented in this manner,

he proposed a hunting excursion. When they went out into the fields, he made them traverse the woods and thickets, amidst the wind and rain, and on their return would not allow them to change their clothes. Being cold and wet, they all stood before the fire without daring to approach too near it, lest they should expose their silks and furs to its destructive violence: "What a fine state you are in," said the emperor; "you are all wet and shivering with cold, while I, with my sheepskin, which I turn according to the wind, have my dress in as good condition as when I set out, and can warm myself at my ease. Be ashamed of your effeminacy; and learn to dress like men. Leave silks and other costly ornaments to the women, or reserve them for days of ceremony, when such things are worn for shew and not for use."

Charlemagne was engaged in war during his whole reign. He subdued Aquitain several times. When he thought himself absolutely master of it, an old duke, who had been twenty-five years in a monastery, quitted his retirement to combat against him, and afterwards returned to his cloistered retreat. He twice over-ran Italy with his victorious arms, received at Rome the imperial crown, dethroned Didier, king of the Lombards, and sent him to France with his family to die in prison. The French under his command were not so successful in Spain. It was with great difficulty

he could bring back his army, almost destroyed, to Roncevaux, notwithstanding the efforts of the famous Roland and the other paladines who accompanied them. In the last place, Tassilon, duke of Bavaria, who had been once saved by submitting to do homage, returned to the charge, and was confined in a monastery with his whole family. This was the least of the punishments which Charlemagne inflicted on vanquished kings. The silence of history, in regard to those shut up in this kind of tombs, has given reason to conclude that Charlemagne did not suffer them to perform long penitence.

This prince, notwithstanding the virtues ascribed to him, was far from being merciful. It is impossible to read, without horror, his sanguinary executions among the Saxons. Besides the great numbers who perished in battle, he caused 4500 of them to be beheaded, in cold blood, after a victory. Death or baptism was the alternative proposed to them; so that these idolaters embraced christianity merely to avoid being massacred. They returned, therefore, to their own gods, as soon as they saw the conqueror at a distance. By means of slaughter and transportation, the emperor established the christian religion in the Saxon dominions. The victories of Charlemagne, the splendour of his reputation, and the success of his arms, did not prevent the Moors, the Danes, and the Normans, from sometimes invading



his frontiers; but he always repulsed them, and often obliged them to act on the defensive at home.

Though engaged in these turbulent occupations, the emperor had still time left to attend to the more tranquil, but no less laborious cares of government. His genius embraced every thing; and no part of his duty was neglected. He examined the laws of the people whom he conquered, before he allowed them to use them. He paid particular attention to every thing that concerned religion. The clergy, by his advice, adopted in their service the Roman psalmody, instead of that which had been before employed. He established in the chapters and great monasteries, schools for grammar, arithmetic, and all the sciences then known. In his palace he assembled a kind of academy, each member of which assumed the name of some celebrated ancient, such as Aristotle, Plato, Cicero, Augustin, and Flaccus, surnamed Horace: Charlemagne assumed that of David. This idea, which the present age, loaded with science, would treat as puerile, served as an encouragement, at a time when something uncommon was necessary to arouse mankind from the torpor of ignorance.

An organ, sent from Constantinople to Pepin, was beheld with astonishment. A clock, brought by the Persian ambassadors to Charlemagne, was seen, no doubt, with equal admiration. This

prince conceived a design of uniting the Rhine to the Danube ; and of forming, by these means, a communication between the ocean and the Euxine sea. The want of machines and apparatus, not then invented, for the execution of grand undertakings, prevented its success ; but it must still be acknowledged, that this emperor was one of the few, who have really interested themselves in the happiness of the human race. No useful labour escaped his attention. We read with pleasure, that he entered into the detail of the occupations of agriculture ; that he was acquainted with his own farms, their produce, and the cattle they contained ; that the women belonging to his palace could manage the distaff as well as the needle, and that he took delight to appear ornamented with the productions of his wives and his daughters. He had in succession five lawful wives ; and as he was indulgent towards himself in regard to his amours, he was not severe in regard to those of others. He is even reproached, and not unjustly, with shewing too much complacency towards the free disposition of his own daughters. The names of his mistresses are not known. It is, however, certain that he had many children by them. He was affable and easy of access ; and could enjoy the sweets of private life without derogating from his dignity. Charlemagne lived seventy-one years, and reigned forty-seven.

He had associated with himself in the empire his son Louis, surnamed the Debonnaire. This prince being sent into Aquitain, that he might give a specimen of his talents in governing, behaved so well, that his father, when informed of his conduct, could not help saying, "Let us return thanks to God, and let us rejoice that this young man is still wiser and abler than I." These fine hopes were not, however, realised in a more extensive administration. The history of Louis the Debonnaire is scarcely any thing else than a history of his faults. Among the number of them, may be classed the noise he made on account of the irregularities of his sisters, to whom Charlemagne shewed too much indulgence. Louis, who had need of indulgence himself, since we know of one bastard born to him, caused the lovers of these princesses to be publicly arrested, and banished them to convents, where they spent their days in the melancholy state of penitents: a punishment, which revealed to the world, with ostentation, the dishonour of the imperial family.

Louis the  
Debonnaire,  
814.

He maintained this character with cruel severity in the affair of Bernard, king of Italy. This prince was the son of Pepin, the eldest of the children of Charlemagne, who conferred on him the kingdom of Italy. Pepin died before his father, and Louis induced the emperor to give the crown of Italy to his brother's son; but this young prince was displeased on the death of his grand-



father, Charlemagne, that the imperial crown was not transferred to his head, as son of the eldest of the children, instead of being given to Louis, who was younger than his father. He made known his pretensions to his uncle, and took up arms to support them. It is to be observed, that he had in his favour his grand-father's principal ministers, among whom was Theodulph, bishop of Orleans. Bernard, however, failed in his attempt, through the defection of the greater part of the nobility. Being thus abandoned, he came to implore the clemency of his uncles. Louis reproached him for his ingratitude, and sent him back to be tried by the general assembly, which condemned him to death, as well as his accomplices. Louis the Debonnaire confined the punishment of the greater part of the bishops to deposition; but he ordered the eyes of the laity to be plucked out. Bernard died three days after, and his three brothers were confined in monasteries.

We must do Louis the Debonnaire the justice to say, that this execution always excited remorse, which he could not help shewing upon several occasions, and particularly during his misfortunes. We do not find, however, that he restored Bernard's brothers, but he gave evident signs of repentance in regard to the bishops, abbots, and other dignified clergy, who had been punished, either by deposition or bodily sufferings, as the accomplices of Bernard. In an assembly

of bishops, convoked at Attigni, he asked them pardon, and expressed sorrow for his conduct. He even re-established, near his person, the suspected clergy, these concealed enemies, among whom was Valla, the celebrated abbot of Corbie, and admitted them into his council. This weakness may be considered as the cause of all his misfortunes.

Hermengarde his wife left him, at her death, three sons, arrived at the age of manhood. Louis, without any apparent necessity, and without foreseeing that he might again marry and have other children, who would require a new partition, divided among them his states; giving to Pepin, the second, Aquitain, and to Louis, the third, Bavaria. Lothaire, the eldest, he associated with himself in the empire. The event which he had not foreseen took place. Louis again entered into the nuptial bonds, and espoused Judith, a German princess of great beauty, intriguing, and as fond of gallantry as she was devout. She had a son, named Charles, who gave great uneasiness to the other children, for whom provision had been made; and indeed not without reason. Judith did not long fail to endeavour to procure a maintenance for her son. The portions of Pepin and Louis were too small to admit of being divided. She addressed herself therefore to Lothaire; and by the force of entreaty, made him consent to a dismemberment, which gave to young

Charles a considerable extent of territory in the heart of France, from the Loire as far as the Meuse. There still remained to Lothaire, as the successor of his father, a beautiful portion, comprehending almost the whole of Germany, with Lorraine and all Italy. That he might better secure his states, he had the precaution not to content himself with the appellation of emperor alone, and to get himself consecrated, at Rome, in the life-time of his father.

The intrigues of Judith introduced disorder into the court of Louis. She had invited Bernard, count of Barcelona, to reside with her as minister; but as he was young, handsome, and well made, it is supposed that he held another office. Lothaire, being informed of certain reports which were propagated, thought himself authorised to correct the abuses in his father's family. He appeared, therefore, with an army, accompanied by his brothers, who wished to take advantage of this opportunity to obtain a new partition more advantageous to them, and to the prejudice of their younger brother Charles. The emperor did not find himself in a condition to make much resistance, and submitted to his children. The younger then retired, and left their eldest brother Lothaire to give the finishing stroke to their projects.

The weakness which Louis had shewn by submitting to a public penitence at Attigni, gave



reason to hope that it would not be difficult to induce him to resign. There was no one but his wife, who could prevail on him to resist with firmness; and, fortunately for Lothaire, she fell into his hands, together with her two sons. Lothaire declared to her that she could no other way avoid death, than by assuming the veil, and engaging her husband to cut off his hair, and to retire to a convent for the remainder of his days. On these agreeable terms he set her at liberty.

It is not believed that she discharged with perfect fidelity this mission to her husband; but, at any rate, she performed one half, by assuming the veil, and Lothaire persuaded himself that the rest would follow of course. Having convoked a grand assembly at Compiègne, Louis appeared there with a distracted air; acknowledged the faults he had committed; protested that his intentions were perfectly upright; and when it was expected that he would have terminated this humble confession by an abdication, he said, to the great astonishment of Lothaire, that he would govern in future with more circumspection and prudence. To the still greater surprise of the son, the assembly invited the father, who had spoke standing near the throne, to replace himself upon it. The son had no other resource than to enter into a reconciliation, which with Louis was not difficult to be effected. Lothaire, who was less sincere, made this reconciliation serve as a new

offence, and shut up his father in a monastery. A monk, named Gombaud, enabled him however to make his escape. The same Gombaud procured to the emperor a powerful party of nobility, who united themselves in a diet at Nimeguen, and restored him to his former dignity. He was put in possession of his central states, and recalled his wife, whom he did not receive till he had made her swear that she was innocent of the crimes laid to her charge, and until she had obtained a dispensation because she had assumed the veil.

Judith did not fail to recall her minister Bernard, which gave rise to new clamours, and new commotions. Pepin of Aquitain quitted, in discontent, his father's court, where he had resided for some time. He took up arms, under the too common pretence of a desire to reform abuses. The emperor declared him a rebel; and gave his states to Judith. This punishment struck a terror into the other two, Lothaire and Louis of Bavaria. Fearing, however, that their intriguing mother-in-law, who was mistress over the mind of her old husband, might strip them, in succession, they united their strength, and fell both together on the emperor. Having debauched his troops, Louis was deposed in an assembly convoked in great haste, while prince Charles was sent to one convent, and the empress to another. The two brothers then retired, leaving the rest to the manage-

ment of their brother Lothaire, whose interest it was more than theirs, to deprive his father of even the title of emperor.

Lothaire convoked a solemn assembly in the church at Compiègne, at which Louis appeared like a criminal. A memorial, containing several articles of accusation, was read in his presence, and, without suffering him to give in an answer, or make a reply, he was stripped of his imperial ornaments, with all the humiliating ceremonies used at that period on such degrading occasions. He was then made to assume the habit of a penitent, and he threw down his sword, at the foot of the altar, as a sign of his abdication. His son confined him in the abbey of Saint Medard, at Soissons, and surrounded him with monks, who were charged to relate to him the most melancholy intelligence, calculated to induce him to embrace the monastic life; such as that the empress had assumed the veil; that she was dead, and that his son Charles had been compelled to have his head shaved and to become a monk.

But among these ecclesiastics, there was one more sincere, who consoled him in secret; put him on his guard against these afflicting falsehoods, and inspired him with courage to beware of surprise. The patience, resignation, and humility of the immured monarch, affected the good monks where he was confined, and their compassion was communicated to the great. Mortified at having



countenanced, by their silence and inactivity, so great an act of injustice, they formed a league and levied an army. Lothaire hastened to Italy; but finding himself too weak, and, fearing to be anticipated by his brothers, he went and liberated his father from Soissons, and conducted him to Saint-Denis, where he left him at liberty with his son Charles. He was rejoined by Judith, and absolved by an assembly of bishops, who publicly restored to him his sword and his crown; but, as this did not appear sufficient, every thing done at Compiègne was annulled, and declared void in a more considerable assembly held at Thionville.

Lothaire asked his pardon, and obtained it. Judith took advantage of this moment of tranquillity, and this kind of prosperity in which her husband found himself, to obtain a new partition of his states. To Lothaire he gave Italy with the title of emperor; to Pepin, Aquitain; to Louis, Germany and Saxony; and to Charles, France, properly so called, together with Burgundy. The last, as may be seen, was not the worst treated; but he had still an addition to his share. Pepin being displeased with his division revolted, and died during his rebellion. Louis, by way of punishment, deprived his two sons of Aquitain; and added it to the possessions of Charles. Louis of Bavaria, instead of taking the part of his nephews against a grandfather, who was too ready to gratify the wishes of his wife, began to think

of enriching himself with their spoils, and seized on whatever parts he could of Aquitain, in order to augment Bavaria. As the emperor suffered him, his patience emboldened Louis, and he even threatened the states of his father himself. He had already advanced to the banks of the Rhine, when the monarch placed himself at the head of his troops, and went to meet his rebellious son.

It was painful to this pious monarch to take the field during Lent, a period which he generally devoted to fasting, prayer, and retirement. He, however, resolved, though his health was in a deranged state; and, leaving his court at Aix-la-Chapelle, advanced to pass the Rhine; but his malady increasing, he was obliged to stop in an island. He beheld, without terror, the approach of death, and made a will, by which he bequeathed part of his jewels to the poor and the church, and some to Lothaire and Charles. A bishop having observed to him that he forgot his son of Bavaria; that this omission seemed to shew that he still harboured resentment against him; and that, as a christian, he ought to forgive him, the dying prince replied: "I forgive him with all my heart; but tell him he must think of asking pardon of God; and to remember that he has made my grey hairs to go down with sorrow to the grave." An affecting reflection, which ought to be held up to all fathers, and to all children!

Louis the Debonnaire, worthy of that name, if we understand by it the habit of suffering himself to be ruled, died at the age of sixty-two. It was necessary that he should reserve for his sons a part of the severity which he exercised against his nephew Bernard; but ought he also to have punished the fault of Pepin of Aquitain, by robbing his sons, the eldest of whom was named Pepin, after his father? Louis was endowed with all the social virtues. It is said that he applied much to astronomy. When we take a view of the misfortunes which happened to him on the earth, we might compare him to that astronomer who tumbled into a pit while walking heedlessly, and gazing at the heavens.

Charles the  
Bald, 840.

Lothaire imagining that the titles of eldest son and emperor gave him a right over his two brothers, Louis of Bavaria and Charles, affected a superiority with which they were highly displeased. He endeavoured to hold forth as a pretence for this haughtiness, the protection which he owed to his nephews, the children of Pepin, king of Aquitain. The two brothers on the one side, and the uncle and nephews on the other, fought in the plains of Fontenai one of the most memorable battles mentioned in history. It cost the lives of a hundred thousand men. After the effusion of so much blood, the two brothers came to an accommodation; which they might have done before. Lothaire retained Italy, with the



title of emperor ; Louis, Germany, from which he was called Germanicus ; and Charles, the central states, in the same manner as before, together with Neustria. Lothaire abandoned the interests of his nephews, which had been a pretence for the war. They endeavoured to defend Aquitain, their property ; but Charles took them prisoners ; confined them in a monastery, and seized on their kingdom.

All the enterprises of this prince against his family were attended with success. He took advantage of this discord among his children and his brothers, to appropriate to himself such parts of their states as suited his convenience ; by which means he became one of the most powerful of the descendants of Charlemagne, and like him was decorated with the title of emperor. During this reign the Normans entered France, oftener and in greater numbers than they had ever done before. To these inundations Charles opposed dykes of silver. The first time he gave them seven thousand pounds, and the second five. This, instead of repelling, was rather inducing them to return, to see whether there were not a few loads more for their vassals. Under this prince, therefore, and his successors, they were never in want. In his time lived Robert the Strong, a celebrated lord, who already possessed states of such extent as to render him formidable. Through bad policy, Charles augmented them in the centre of his do-

minions, in order to detach him from the interests of Solomon duke of Brittany. He gave him the duchy of France ; or, as some understand it, the government, if not the sovereignty, of the country between the Seine and the Loire ; but he did not foresee that this generosity would one day be prejudicial to his family.

Charles the Bald died at the age of fifty-four. He held frequent councils, or rather mixed assemblies, which enacted useful regulations, known also under the name of capitularies. The custom of translating from one see to another, which was then introduced, rendered him more master of the bishops than any of his predecessors ; because the happiness of being raised to a more distinguished or more opulent bishopric depended on the monarch.

Was it owing to any fault in his policy, or to the temper of the times, that his children were not more submissive to him, than his brothers had been to Louis the Debonnaire ? His youngest son Charles, whom he had made king of Aquitaine, though surprised by death at an early period, lived still long enough to signalize himself by his disobedience. Another, named Carloman, obliged his father, by his frequent revolts, to confine him in prison, and deprive him of his sight. The conduct even of his daughter Judith was not very commendable. Having become the widow of a king of England, she married, to

the great scandal of the christian world, the eldest son of her husband. She likewise buried him. When she returned to France, being still young, and always fond of gallantry, she caused, or suffered, herself to be carried away by Baldwin, earl of Flanders, with the consent of Louis, her eldest brother. Charles was obliged to pardon these family insults; and to suffer some also from Richilda, his second wife. It is not, therefore, impossible that all these intrigues may have hastened his death, though it is said that he was poisoned by a Jew physician, named Sedecias. Some even affirm that this was actually the case, as if it were easy, however ignorant a physician might be, to prove that he had poisoned: Sedecias was neither sought after, nor punished.

Louis the Bald was succeeded by his son Louis the Stammerer. It is needless to mention the cause of these surnames. The new king, with a design of ensuring tranquillity to his states, gave away, in profusion, governments, bishoprics, and abbeys, with other useful and honourable places, to all the great who first presented themselves. Those who came after murmured; not at his prodigality, but because they had not obtained a share. Incensed by their disappointment, they refused to acknowledge him; but after a little reflection they submitted, on condition of his distributing among them what remained. This is all that can be said of a reign of three years.

Louis the Stammerer, 877. Louis and Charo-man, 879. Charles the Fat, 884.



Of Louis III. and Carloman, his two sons, the former died a natural death and the latter by an accident. Their cousin, Charles the Fat, already king of Germany, and acknowledged as emperor, was, according to some, chosen king by the French nobility, but, according to others, only tutor of the posthumous Charles, of whom Carloman's widow had been delivered. Whatever may have been the title of Charles the Fat, he shewed himself much inferior to what had been expected. He was a melancholy visionary, of a sickly constitution, superstitious, and addicted to women; weak in his intellect, and destitute of courage or resolution. During his administration, the Normans besieged Paris; and he was not able to repulse them but by the force of money. The contempt which the people entertained for him, and which they did not conceal, induced him to quit France. On his return to Germany he fell ill; and, what is unexampled in history, was so much abandoned, that he wanted the common necessaries of life. All his servants forsook him; and his wife, who pretended to be still a virgin, set the first example of this desertion. Had it not been for the archbishop of Mentz, who by chance was informed of his distress, he might have died of hunger. Arnould, king of Bavaria, assigned to this emperor the rents of three or four villages for his maintenance.

Till the posthumous son of Carloman should attain to the age of manhood, the nobility gave the crown to Eudes, the son of Robert the Strong, who had distinguished himself during the siege of Paris. Being placed on the throne, he refused to cede it to the posthumous Charles III. called the Simple. Charles, however, was raised to it on the death of Eudes. This prince resigned to the Normans Neustria, which from their name has been called Normandy. Charles the Simple had one son, Louis IV. called d'Outremer, because his mother had fled with him to England, to avoid the dismal fate of her husband. This prince, who was not entirely destitute of energy, maintained his crown with bravery against Robert, who had taken possession of it after the death of his brother, Eudes. He was defeated by Charles, but the latter being afterwards struck with a panic abandoned his states, and threw himself into the hands of Hebert, count of Vermandois, who detained him in prison till he died.

During this desertion, the reins of government were in the hands of Hugues le Grand, of the family of Eudes. To gain over the nobility, he conferred on them several domains, on condition of their doing homage and performing service. The creation of fiefs in France is ascribed to this period. Hugues le Grand disdaining, or not daring, to make himself king, suffered his relation, Raoul, to assume the sceptre. Louis returned

Capetians.  
Hugh Capet,  
987.

from beyond the seas to dispute with him for the crown. Hugues le Grand supported the phantom of king, which he had created, and styled himself duke of France and Burgundy, count of Paris and Orleans. It may be seen, by these titles, how confined were the boundaries of the kingdom which Louis required Raoul to restore. He recovered it, notwithstanding the efforts of Hugues le Grand, and left it to Lothaire, his son, who transmitted it to Louis V. called the Idle, who reigned only a year. He was poisoned by his wife, and his father, it is said, had experienced the same fate. In them ended the race of the Carolingians, which had continued 237 years.

Capetian  
kings.

When Louis V. died, every thing was settled, so that Hugh Capet, the son of Hugues le Grand, and the great grandson of Robert the Strong, had only to shew himself in order to be proclaimed. Though placed on the throne by a happy concurrence of circumstances, it has never been said that he had any share in the sudden death of his predecessor. There still remained a son of Louis d'Outremer, named Charles, duke of Lorraine. As the crown belonged to him, he laid claim to it and maintained his right; but his power was too much inferior to that of Hugh Capet, who, before he became king, had possession of the duchy of France and the counties of Orleans and Paris, and was brother-in-law to the



dukes of Burgundy and Normandy. Charles being defeated was taken prisoner and died in captivity. His son, it is said, succeeded him in Lorraine; but the most common opinion is, that he left no issue.

Hugh Capet governed with great prudence. Being surrounded by great lords, jealous of each other, he instigated them to mutual attacks, without interfering in their quarrels. By these means, they were reduced to a state of weakness; and the royal authority was strengthened in proportion. This monarch had taken care to get himself consecrated, and he employed the same precaution in regard to his son Robert. Hugh Capet reigned only nine years; but he left the kingdom in as tranquil a state as if he had governed it for a very long period. He was a politician by habit; and, on certain occasions, brave. It is believed that he was surnamed Capet, because he had a large head. This name was continued to his descendants.

His son Robert exhibits, on the throne, a very singular phenomenon: a king a saint, or at least acknowledged as one in the legends, and this saint excommunicated, but in such a manner that the prelates, nobility, and the whole court, fled from him, as from a person infected with the plague. Two domestics only remained with him; and these even purified in the fire the dishes from which he had eaten, and the utensils he

Robert,  
996.

employed, and threw the deffert to the dogs, that they might not be contaminated with the polluted remains of a person under sentence of excommunication. These anathemas had been issued against him because he refused to dismiss Bertha, whom he had married when a widow, and had unfortunately stood god-father to one of his children, which, for want of a dispensation, was the cause of an impediment, and rendered the marriage void. Bertha was neither young nor handsome; but, by her gentle disposition, she was well suited to Robert, a prince of great mildness and piety, and fond of domestic peace. By his excommunication he obtained a wife of great beauty, named Constantia, who was, however, proud, capricious, and so haughty, that the unfortunate husband did not enjoy a moment's repose with her, during the whole time of their being married.

She was determined to govern, and did so notwithstanding the efforts which Robert made to extricate himself from her dominion. After the example of Hugh Capet, his father, he resolved to cause one of his sons to be consecrated and acknowledged king, during his life-time. It appears that this precaution was a family secret, which the Capetians transmitted to their successors. The imperious Constantia was overjoyed to find that her weak husband had raised up to himself a rival in authority, whom she could em-

ploy, as occasion might require, in case Robert should oppose her wishes. She began, indeed, to tutor her son, and to excite him to secure the supreme power, of which she hoped to be able to take advantage; but not finding in the young prince that compliance which she expected, she harassed and maltreated him so long that he was obliged to leave the court and even to take up arms. The father, well knowing the cause of his son's revolt, instead of proceeding against him with a body of troops, went in quest of him, conducted him back, and treated him so well, that he became his friend and assistant in the government.

This son unfortunately died, which created new pretensions on the part of the mother, who wished Henry to be set aside in favour of Robert, the eldest, whom she hoped to be able to manage with more facility, according to her own ideas. The father, however, behaved with firmness, and caused Henry to be crowned. Constantia immediately began to excite Robert against his brother, but she did not succeed in her attempts to involve them in a quarrel. Being frustrated in this hope, she conceived a mortal hatred against both; and by means of bad treatment obliged them to leave the court. The father went once more in quest of them, carried them back, and established peace in his family, as far as was possible with such a wife. It was, no doubt, by the



exercise of patience, of which he may be exhibited as a noble model to many husbands, that the good Robert got himself fainted. He was extremely punctual in attending divine worship; and hymns of his composition are still sung in the church. It is to be wished that we were not obliged to class among his acts of devotion, his attending, with queen Constantia, the punishment of some manichean hereticks, who were burnt. Robert had the moderation to refuse the kingdom of Italy and the Imperial crown. He died at the age of sixty, universally regretted. "We have lost our father," said those, with lamentation, who assisted at his funeral. "He governed us in peace. Under him our property was safe." What those said who were present, was repeated by the whole nation who were absent. No prince ever received greater or more general praise.

Henry I.  
1031.

Constantia had not exhausted all her malice against her husband. She had some still remaining for her son Henry I. As she entertained no hope that he would suffer himself to be governed by her, she excited against him his brother Robert, and enjoyed the pleasure of seeing the two brothers strengthen themselves by alliances, in order to decide their quarrel by combat; but she had the mortification also of seeing them reconciled. To accomplish this end, Henry ceded to his brother the duchy of Burgundy. The queen mother was included in this accommodation, and

soon after died, without having an opportunity of being farther engaged in broils.

Henry imitated his father and grandfather in the policy of suffering the nobility to ruin themselves by war. He interfered very little in their quarrels; but as he found himself stronger than Hugh Capet and Robert, he ventured to punish some of the most intractable, beginning with the weakest. Under this prince, we find the first instance of punishing the crime of rebellion by confiscating the lands of the vassal, and uniting them to the crown. The cause of the long wars between the kings of France and the dukes of Normandy, which were followed by the wars with England, are traced back to the same period.

In that which Constantia excited against her son Henry, that prince implored the assistance of Robert the Devil, duke of Normandy. The latter was so called on account of the ravages which he made in France on that occasion. According to the ideas of that period, he thought he could expiate his cruelties by a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. When he set out, he recommended his son William to the king of France, on whom he had conferred some obligations. Henry, instead of supporting the son of his friend, entrusted to his care, against the cabals of the Norman nobility, is accused of fermenting discontents, and of having created great embarrassment to young William. Hence the hatred between these two

princes, which was extended even to nations. Henry also took care to get his son consecrated, though at that time a boy. He died at the age of fifty, in consequence of a medicine which he used without proper precaution. We are indebted to him for *la treve du seigneur*, or law which forbade private combats between Thursday and Sunday, through respect for the mysteries of Jesus Christ, which were effected on these days. This is all that the civil and ecclesiastical authority united could do against the rage for duelling, both juridical and voluntary.

Philip I.  
1060.

Philip I. who was only eight years of age, had been placed, by his father, under the guardianship of Baldwin, earl of Flanders, who took great care of his education. It appears that Philip possessed some talents; but his judgment was not correct, and he was not very delicate in regard to probity. He spent his whole life amidst scenes of deception, highly applauding himself for his pretended dexterity, when he succeeded; but struck with shame and consternation when he miscarried. This character rendered him contemptible to his subjects, and odious to the neighbouring princes. A piece of insolent raillery had like to have involved him in serious danger. He was continually at war or making treaties of peace with William duke of Normandy, the conqueror of England. When Philip had thrown him into some embarrassments, on account, in particular, of af-



assistance given to the rebellious children of the Norman, he triumphed on account of his cunning; but as soon as William, informed of his manœuvres, threatened to be revenged, Philip appeased him by submission, till he could find a convenient opportunity of resuming his former conduct.

On one occasion, when William, who was very corpulent, being more patient than usual, and confined to his bed by indisposition, was slow in taking the field to procure satisfaction for some new fraud, Philip said jocosely to his courtiers: "When will this big-bellied fellow be brought to bed?" The duke, to whom this speech was told, alluding to the churching of women, who bear in their hands a wax candle, said: "I shall soon go to church to return thanks for my delivery, and shall exhibit such an illumination to the king of France, that he will repent his jest." This illumination was the burning of the town of Mantes, which suffered for the insipid pleasantries of its sovereign. It was a happy circumstance that the duke, who was at the head of a fine army, did not long survive this cruel act of vengeance. His death opened a theatre of intrigue to the crafty genius of Philip. He had the pleasure of embroiling in a quarrel the Norman princes, and of sowing the seeds of discord among the brothers. These disputes, which he managed

with great art, furnished him with the means of getting into his hands some places that were given him, as a reward for reconciling them; but they sometimes took more from him as a punishment for his intrigues, when they came to be disclosed, after an accommodation.

How little scrupulous Philip was in his principles, will be better known by the following instances: Though he had been long married to Bertha, and had by her several children already of age, he conceived a disgust for this princess, and separated from her under a pretence of too near consanguinity. The daughter of a count Roger, exceedingly rich, was then proposed to him. Flattered with the honour of placing his daughter on the throne of France, the father sent her to her intended husband, with a magnificent train, and a large sum of money. Philip seized the jewels and the money, and sent back the countess. Some historians assert, that he induced her to visit him, only that he might enjoy the property. After this action, which, in common language, might be called the trick of a sharper, it will not be surprising to find him guilty of another, which displayed the villain. If there were people, however, at that period, who thought like those, who, at present, are called men of gallantry, this action, which we blame as contrary to good faith, must have appeared to them admirable, as it was only taking by surprise a disgusting husband.

Count de Monfort had a daughter, named Bertrade, who was accounted the most beautiful woman in France. On account of her high reputation, Foulques, count of Anjou, who from his ill temper has been surnamed the Crabbed, asked her in marriage, and obtained his request. Bertrade had consented to this alliance with reluctance and through family considerations; and her husband, besides, did not possess the art of rendering himself agreeable to her. As soon it was known that Philip had separated himself from his wife Bertha, Bertrade, seduced by the attractions of a crown, entered into a private arrangement with the king. He paid a visit of politeness and friendship to Foulques; was well received, and, by way of making a grateful return for this kindness, carried off his wife.

In order to live at peace with her, two difficulties were to be overcome: to get his divorce from Bertha confirmed by the church, and that of Bertrade from Foulques approved. The negotiations for this purpose were continued a long time; but the lovers lived as husband and wife, though excommunicated. The death of Bertha at length removed every obstacle. Means were found also to satisfy Foulques, who even visited his unfaithful spouse, without shewing much displeasure.

The monarch was then permitted to spend the remainder of his days in indolence at the feet of his Omphale. Not that he was a Hercules: on



the contrary, instead of shewing himself calculated for the labours by which the fabulous hero rendered himself illustrious, he even abandoned all the cares of government to his son, known afterwards under the name of Louis the Fat. Were we desirous of still continuing the parallel with the life of Hercules, we might say, that like him, Louis was the object of his mother-in-law's hatred. Bertrade, imperious and jealous, like Juno, persecuted her son-in-law; and she even wished to get rid of him by poison, that the crown might devolve on her own children. The dose, however, was not sufficiently strong, or the antidote administered in time by an able physician saved his life. Louis forgave his mother-in-law, and she lived with him afterwards on so good terms, that the repentance she shewed is supposed to have been sincere. Philip after that period interfered very little with the affairs of his own kingdom, and still less with those of his neighbours. He died, at the age of fifty, a submissive slave to Bertrade.

Louis VI.  
the Fat,  
1105.

Louis had been associated in the throne with his father, who caused him to be consecrated in his life-time. He made him be again crowned, and endeavoured, as he had before done, when only heir apparent, to get his right to the throne acknowledged by the surrounding nobility. Among this number were the counts of Corbeille, Mantes, Couci, Monfort, and others, whose fiefs

were situated within the extent of the royal domains, or lay adjacent to them. These domains were then confined to Paris, Etampes, Orleans, Compiègne, Melun, Bourges, and some towns of little note in the neighbourhood.

When we consider these confined boundaries, it must excite astonishment to see Louis the Fat marching at the head of 200,000 men, to meet the emperor Henry V. who was leading against France the whole forces of Germany. The reason is, that the great vassals, such as the dukes of Burgundy and Aquitaine, the counts of Champagne and Flanders, as well as others, all united on these important occasions. In those days, a king of France could, with justice, style himself a great monarch. The dukes of Normandy, however, were not among the number of those defenders of the integrity of the kingdom. On the contrary, after they became kings of England, their whole thoughts were employed on confining that of France, by extending their territories on the continent. Louis opposed to their efforts the most powerful obstacles. He had for his ministers four brothers, named Garlande; but they were not favourites. "A king," said he, "ought to have no other favourites than his people." This expression contains his eulogy. It is needless to say that he was an excellent monarch. Louis the Fat lived sixty years.

Louis VII.  
the Young,  
1137.

Having been educated in the abbey of St. Denis, he caused his son, who was named Louis the Young, to distinguish him from his father, to be educated in the same place. These great monasteries, at that period, were schools for the young nobility, and they contained men of eminent merit, an honour to the age in which they lived. Among these were Suger, abbot of St. Denis, a profound politician, a wise minister, the counsellor and friend of kings; and Bernard, abbot of Clervaux, a brilliant genius, a man of sweet and insinuating eloquence, full of fire, and as a French Hercules holding the ears of his auditors enchained to his tongue. To these may be added Abelard, punished for having loved and written. His fate as a lover is well known. He endeavoured to amuse himself with metaphysics, the romance of the mind; but he lost himself in the labyrinth of abstract dialectics. Being accused of heresy, he was forced to submit to the humiliating penance of a public recantation.

St. Bernard preached in favour of the crusades, and persuaded his hearers. It is said that kings encouraged these military pilgrimages, in order to weaken their vassals by the expences they incurred, and to establish the royal authority on their ruin. But in the first grand crusade, there was more enthusiasm than policy. The whole court, and we might say the whole kingdom, took



up the cross, as if by sudden inspiration. The queen herself engaged in it, with the principal ladies in her train. Eleonora had brought to Louis by marriage the duchy of Guyenne and the county of Poitou. She set out for the Holy Land, not so much perhaps through zeal, as for amusement, and to gratify curiosity. We are informed by the histories of that period, that the motives of few of the crusaders were purely religious; or that if they were so, they became corrupted by the way. Eleonora, when she arrived at Antioch, found in the sovereign prince of that city a Christian agreeable to her taste; and in young Saladin, the sultan of Egypt, a Mahometan who gained her affection. This sensibility gave uneasiness to her husband. He carried his spouse from Antioch against her will, made her perform her devotions at Jerusalem, and on his return to France, divorced her.

He restored to her the beautiful provinces she had brought him as a dowery; and six weeks after she gave her hand to Henry, count of Anjou, duke of Normandy, and heir to the kingdom of England. This prince, when he ascended the throne, found himself possessor of the duchies of Normandy and Guyenne, with the counties of Anjou, Poitou, Touraine and Maine, and was as powerful in France as the king himself. Louis VII. is considered as a pious and chaste monarch. It is not, therefore, astonishing that he should be

displeased with a wife fond of gallantry ; but had he been less scrupulous, or more politic, he might have found means to get rid of her without suffering so considerable a dowery to escape from his hands. He died at the age of sixty.

By a third wife, he had Philip II. surnamed Augustus, who succeeded him. The history of this prince, as a conqueror, might be extended to considerable length ; but it has often been remarked, that all histories of war resemble each other, as they contain only ravage and destruction, truces and treaties of peace, in order to take breath and renew the misery of mankind. The wars of this monarch, however, may be excused ; as the object of them was to add to his crown the parts which had been torn from it. In this manner he united under his sceptre Normandy, which had been separated for three hundred years ; Anjou, Maine, Touraine, Poitou, Auvergne, Vermandois, Artois, and many intermediary cities.

Though a wise prince, he gave way to the madness of the age, and undertook a journey to the Holy Land ; but he remained there no longer than was necessary to shew that he had gone thither, and that he had accomplished his vow. Like his father, he was capricious in changing his wives ; but he did so with less risk ; for when he dismissed Ingelburga, he did not see her carry away, like Eleonora, a part of his kingdom. He

got rid of her at the expence of three or four years excommunication; but finding the affair become serious, and that the people began to murmur, because he remained undaunted amidst the ecclesiastical thunder hurled against him, he requested that his divorce might be subjected to the decision of an assembly of bishops. While they were deliberating, whether through fear lest their opinions should not be favourable, or through remorse for his harsh treatment of a pious and patient spouse, who was universally esteemed, Philip sent notice to the bishops that he had settled the affair, and placing Ingelburga on his horse behind him, conducted her to his palace, where they lived afterwards in harmony with each other.

This prince may be called the father of cities, as he granted them privileges; gave them police laws, and embellished them as much as the then infant state of the arts would allow. His military exploits were crowned by the victory of Bovines. With fifty thousand men he defeated, at the risk of his life, the emperor Otho, who had a superior army. During the years of his reign which followed this triumph, Philip employed his time in the practice of pacific virtues, useful to his people, by whom he made himself be feared, loved, and respected. After his death, at the age of sixty, when flattery is silent, the public



voice conferred upon him the surname of Augustus.

Louis VIII.  
the Lion,  
1223.

That of the Lion given to his son Louis VIII. alluded to his great ardour in combat. He gave a particular proof of it, in the war against the Albigenſes, heretics guilty of cruelty and libertinism; but thoſe who fought againſt them were not free from the ſame crimes, if we except Louis who was a model of purity in his manners, and of exactneſs in his religious duties. He died at the age of thirty-nine, leaving a ſon, aged twelve, under the guardianship of queen Blanche, his mother.

Louis IX.  
Saint, 1226.

The regency of this princeſs does honour to her talents. It diſplayed great firmneſs and policy. Being ſuperior to events, ſhe directed them. Blanche kept within the bounds of their duty, but not without conſiderable exertion, the nobility, who imagined that, under the government of a woman, they could eaſily reſume their ancient authority. Some ſhe ſubdued by force; others ſhe gained over by mildneſs. Her age, as ſhe was only forty, did not exempt her from ſuſpicions of gallantry. In general, the tales raſhly circulated reſpecting the conduct of queen Blanche, are a proof of the levity and malevolence which prevail in the opinions formed of ſovereigns in their own courts. Theobald, count of Champagne, was aſſiduous in his ſervices near her perſon; and

therefore he was said to be in love with her. She, on the other hand, suffered this mark of attention, because it would have been dangerous to offend him; and it was thence concluded that she had conceived an affection for him. Having shewn respect to the counsel of one of the pope's legates, who was frequently admitted into her company, it was inferred that he had a passion for her, and that she entertained no hatred towards him. The queen, however, allowed the people to say what they pleased, without altering her conduct. No person was ever less affected by public reports; and she has been more justified by the course of events, than by any measures she could have taken to put an end to them.

All her actions were blackened by the most malicious calumny. Blanche educated her son in the greatest piety, and in the principles of the most rigid virtue. She did this, it is said, because she wished to make him a monk, rather than a monarch, in order that she might continue to govern under his name. When Louis married, as he was very young, she restrained the husband and wife in their intercourse, lest they should enervate themselves by excess; but, as some pretended, through an apprehension that the young queen might acquire too much influence over her husband. The bad light in which the wife precautions of the mother were represented, did not, however, produce a coolness between her

and her son. The success of her government had inspired him with so much confidence and esteem, that they were never effaced from his mind.

This education, which was called monkish, led the monarch neither into excess nor weakness in his administration. He was devout, without being superstitious. He respected the authority of the sovereign pontiffs; and knew how to restrain it. He paid attention to the clergy, whom he kept within the bounds of regularity, and never plundered the property of the church, but caused it to be employed in support of the state. The only effect of his religious principles was, that they rendered him inflexible in his principles of justice, which he administered after the patriarchal manner, under a shady oak at the gates of his palace. Even in suits, which concerned his own domains, no one was afraid of choosing him as judge. The English nobility also, in causes when affairs of the utmost importance were to be determined between them and their sovereign, made Louis arbitrator, and adhered to his decisions.

If he is to be reproached with any religious errors, it is on account of his two crusades. But it must be allowed that this was the madness of the times; that in his preparation he employed all those precautions which were best calculated to ensure success, and that no inconsiderate project



was ever begun with more prudence. It, however, miscarried, and he fell into the hands of the infidels; but he displayed firmness and magnanimity, and made his virtue be respected in chains. He died of the plague, at the age of fifty-six, during an expedition against Tunis, which was not more successful than that against Egypt.

Should any one imagine that devotion renders men narrow minded, let him read an account of the establishments of St. Louis, where he will find all those civil institutions which have contributed to the flourishing state of the kingdom. In making laws for the people, he did not forget to prescribe some also for the monarch. His instructions to his son Philip are a model of their kind. He was an indefatigable warrior, and a man of cool bravery; a dutiful son, a good husband, an affectionate father, and a just and compassionate sovereign. With these qualities he had no need for the title of Saint, did it not serve to make known that Louis XI. possessed every virtue, as far as the weakness of human nature will permit them to be united.

His son Philip III. has been surnamed the Hardy, because in the midst of the Saracens, when a prisoner with his father, he had the boldness to punish an insolent soldier who behaved to him with disrespect. He followed the example of his father, and in his military career, had suc-

Philip III.  
the Hardy,  
1270.

cess both against his vassals and foreigners. He is reproached for the favour he shewed to la Brosse, whom he raised from the condition of a barber, to the office of chamberlain. The queen has been no less reproached for the punishment of this favourite, whom she caused to be hung, rather, as is believed, to gratify her desire of revenge, than through a love of justice. La Brosse was little esteemed; but no one justified his being punished for a crime which was not proved but by the revelation of a nun. That horrible massacre, called the Sicilian Vespers, took place under the reign of Philip; but he did not avenge it. Though fond of money, he was cautious in the imposition of taxes, and moderate and just in collecting them. He died at the age of forty-one.

The crusades ceased during the reign of this prince, and chivalry, which had been combined with ceremonies that rendered it almost a religious institution, began also to lose its credit. A chevalier was a gentleman, who had been inspired from his infancy with the love of God and of the ladies. He was obliged to be as faithful to the one as to the other. On attaining to that age when it was time for him to cover his head with a helmet and his body with a coat of mail, after he had passed through the degrees of *varlet*, *garçon*, *page*, and *damoiseau*, names almost synonymous, which indicated the first apprenticeship of arms, he was admitted to the degree of *ecuyer*,

which authorised him to attempt exploits proper for procuring him the degree of chevalier.

When he was deemed worthy of this rank, all the chevaliers of the canton were assembled. During the night which preceded the ceremony, the candidate, who was obliged to fast the whole day, heard divine service with the utmost devotion: this was called *faire la veille d'armes*. He then bathed and confessed; that his internal as well as external pollution might be effaced. The oldest of the chevaliers, or he who was most distinguished by his merit, then dubbed him; that is, struck him on the shoulder with his sword, and, embracing him, said: "I make thee a chevalier." The most respectable lady present girt on his sword, while the younger part of the female sex put on his spurs and shoulder-belt, which they often embroidered with their own hands.

The chevalier had then a right to roam through the world; to propose a trial of skill with the lance to all those of his order whom he met; and to combat them, with the utmost fury, if they did not acknowledge that the lady of the assailant, whom they had never seen, was *the most beautiful of beauties*. The chevaliers, though unknown, were well received in the castle of every lord. If they arrived there wounded, every care possible was taken of them by the ladies, both young and old, who were proud of having in their possession remedies and recipes proper



for such occasions. Compassion towards the wounded was often succeeded by affection, and always, notwithstanding the intimacy of frequent intercourse, by the most severe wisdom. Nothing can be more agreeable to truth, than the picture of the respectful practices of chivalry preserved in the ancient romances, however different they may be from our manners at present. The tournaments supported this institution; because they opened a field for address, and gave the great lords an opportunity of displaying their magnificence.

Philip IV.  
the Fair.

Philip IV. on account of the beauty of his countenance, and the elegance of his whole person, has been surnamed the Fair. He was crafty in his treaties and unfaithful to his word. This want of sincerity involved him in wars. The disgusting vulgarity which Philip and Boniface VIII. employed in their quarrels, has been much censured. The pope, in one of his letters to this monarch, said: "None but a madman can doubt of the right which I have to call you to an account for your conduct, and to give you correction." The king replied: "Your foolishness must know, that I despise your advice as much as I do your commands." The cause of the dispute was, that the pontiff had forbidden the clergy to suffer any money to be levied from them without his permission. This dispute was the origin of the first check given in France to the authority of the popes, that is, an appeal to the

next council. Philip was revenged on Boniface by causing him to be surpris'd in Anagni, where the proud pontiff was treated with so much indignity that he died of grief.

What the king had experienced from this haughty pope, whose fulminations, though hurled very improperly, did not fail to create trouble in the kingdom, induced him to devise means to prevent his being expos'd to them in future. He knew that the cardinals, after the death of the pope, as they were not able to agree respecting a successor, had referred the choice to three prelates. Bertrand de Got being one of these, Philip appointed an interview with him in secret, and prevail'd on him to secure the votés of the other two electors on three conditions. The first was to annul every thing that pope Boniface had done against him ; the second, to grant him the tithes of his kingdom for ten years ; and as to the third, the king reserv'd it to be revealed at a proper time and place, but he made Bertrand promise, that, whatever it might be, it should be executed. Without considering whether it might be just or not, the ambitious prelate gave an unconditional promise, crown'd himself with the tiara, and, instead of going to hold his see at Rome, established his throne at Avignon, to the great regret of the Italians.

The third condition, which Philip retained within his royal breast, is believed to have been the

destruction of the Templars. This religious order possessed immense riches, which, in all probability, formed their only crime, though military licentiousness might have introduced vices among them; and they might, perhaps, have been guilty of abuses which deserved reprehension. It is possible, that some giddy young men, during their orgies and transports of mirth, may have imagined, and as it were consecrated, absurd and ridiculous practices. Do we not see, in our own days, a celebrated society which opens the door of its sanctuary to neophytes only with the most fantastical ceremonies? But that all the members of a religious body, old as well as young, should have established as laws antichristian and abominable rites, and caused them to be practised by those admitted into the order, is not credible.

Yet it is perhaps of these crimes, that the greater number, the grand-master and the chief officers, all personages of the utmost gravity, have been accused. They were put to the rack, and life was offered them if they would confess: they accordingly confessed and were burnt, to the number of fifty. Their property was confiscated. The principal part of it the king and the pope divided between them; the rest was distributed among the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, who were afterwards called the knights of Malta. The unhappy sufferers, when on the funeral pile, summoned their executioners to appear before the



tribunal of God; the pope in two months, and the king at the end of four: at the fixed period they were both called into eternity. If the crimes laid to the charge of the Templars were not clearly proved, Philip was an unrighteous judge; if he knew them to be innocent, he was a tyrant. We must leave him, therefore, loaded with one of these imputations, of which he shewed himself too worthy. He died at the age of forty-six, disgraced by his family. The wives of his three sons were accused of adultery. The lovers were subjected to punishment, which gives reason to suppose that these princesses were guilty.

Hutin, the surname given to Louis X. signifies stubborn. It is a sign that he was exceedingly obstinate. We shall give only the following instance. He opposed his court and the whole nation in the affair of Enguerand de Marigni. This man was minister, and, having the care of the finances, excited the hatred of Charles de Valois, the king's uncle, because he refused to connive at the dilapidations of that prince. He was himself accused of dishonesty in his administration. The faults of which he was convicted, unavoidable in such an office, scarcely deserved a reprimand, but by the influence of the uncle he was condemned to death, and executed, by the ascendancy which he had over his nephew, though every body interceded for him and were convinced of his innocence. Charles felt remorse;

Louis X.  
Hutin,  
1314.

and in his last illness gave slow but sincere signs of repentance. Louis X. died at the age of twenty-four; and, as is supposed, by poison.

Philip V.  
the Long.  
1316.

His successor, Philip the Long, perished, it is said, in the same manner. The reports of poisoning were then much credited. The Jews were accused of poisoning the wells, fountains, and even rivers. In consequence of this belief, they were massacred and burnt by thousands. The chemists must determine whether it be possible to find a poison so active and permanent as to render even running water mortal.

Charles the  
Fair, 1322.

He was succeeded by his brother, Charles the Fair, though he and Louis had both left children; but they were only daughters. It had been determined in an assembly of the states that the kingdom of France, as a Salic fief, could not belong to females. These three princes were always necessitous, in regard to their finances, and there are no means which they did not devise to improve them. They compelled the Jews to purchase the right of becoming *roturiers*, which rendered them capable of possessing land; and induced the rich *roturiers* to purchase patents of nobility, by which they acquired privileges. They altered and diminished the coin. At last, Charles the Fair gave an example which has been often followed since that period. He squeezed the tax-gatherers, who were almost all Lombards, and had amassed immense riches by plundering

the people. "The king," says Mezerai, with his severe bluntness, "sent them back to Italy as naked as when they left it, which was the greatest punishment that could be inflicted on these rascals." Charles died at the age of thirty-four, leaving his queen pregnant.

Before the queen's delivery, a violent dispute, respecting the regency, took place, between Philip de Valois and Edward, king of England, because the contending parties flattered themselves with the hope, that he who held the regency, should the queen bring forth a daughter, would also have the crown. Edward was the nearest relation, being nephew of the deceased king, but by the female side, as he was the son of one of his sisters. Philip, on the other hand, was only cousin, but by the male side, as the son of Charles de Valois, brother of Philip the Fair. The parliament adjudged the regency to Charles, the persecutor of Enguerand; and the queen having been brought to bed of a daughter, he assumed the crown. He was the first of the family of Valois, and acquired the name of Fortunate; because, though a remote branch, he had obtained the throne. In other respects, his reign seems to have been little favoured by fortune.

Philip de Valois had to maintain three disagreeable wars, one of which was in Brittany. This province served the kings of France and England as a theatre, where they contended for the

Philip VI.  
Valois,  
1328.



superiority. The second war was carried on in Flanders. An humble brewer, named James d'Artevelle, governed that country almost with sovereign power, during the minority of the duke. Philip gained an important victory over the Flemings, and imposed on them a considerable tribute, which they promised on oath to pay to the king of France.

Edward had not acquiesced in the decision which gave the sceptre of France to Philip de Valois. On the contrary, he maintained that he had still a right to lay claim to the crown. Artevelle, in order that he might free his countrymen from the tribute, promised to the king of France, without appearing false to his oath, advised the English monarch to assume the title of king of France. The new king exonerated the Flemings from their debt, and they declared in his favour. This pretension Edward shewed at first only with timidity; but he soon published it with boldness, when he engaged in the third war with which the reign of Phillip was afflicted. It took a most unfavourable turn by the celebrated defeat at Creci, the source of all the evils which inundated France under the successors of the unfortunate Valois. He had the happiness, however, of uniting Dauphiny to the crown, on condition that the first-born of the kings of France should assume the title of dauphin, which after this period was always the case. Philip finding himself a widower,

as well as his eldest son, John, asked in marriage, for that prince, Blanche, sister of Charles, king of Navarre. When she arrived, the monarch was so much captivated with her charms that, though fifty-six years of age, he did not hesitate to espouse this princess, who was only seventeen. He died a year after.

When John ascended the throne he had the John, 1350. title of duke of Normandy. He was then nearly forty years of age. His father had employed him in state affairs, and he had commanded armies with success. Great advantages were expected, therefore, from his government; but no reign was ever more disastrous. His misfortunes began at the battle of Poitiers, which he lost by his own fault. The prince of Wales, son to the king of England, called the Black Prince, on account of the colour of his arms, gained a complete victory. The king of France was taken prisoner, and this event was followed by troubles and disorder, which brought the kingdom to the brink of destruction.

The government now fell into the hands of the king's eldest son, Charles, then dauphin, named afterwards Charles V. a prince fifteen years of age. Besides the factions which surrounded him, he was exposed to the malevolence of Charles the Bad, his brother-in-law, who envied him the regency. Charles united great talents to the most profound malice. He gained the favour of the

Parisians by the vehemence and rapidity of his eloquence, and by flattering the vanity of the citizens, with the hopes of rendering them the depositaries of the whole power of the kingdom. The states general, which had assembled at first with the best intentions, were converted into cabals. One party among them formed a plan for changing the government, by putting the sovereign power into the hands of the *tiers etats*, and leaving nothing to the king but an empty title. This proposal, made by the Parisians to the provinces, was not relished.

The capital remained two years in a state of the most dreadful confusion. Sometimes Charles ruled in it, and sometimes he was expelled. These fluctuations gave rise to reciprocal murders. The prisons, filled with victims, whom the contrary faction had crowded within their walls, or become the asylums of those who took shelter in them, were forced open and inundated with blood. One Marcel, *prevot* of the merchants at Paris, rendered himself, by these means, exceedingly powerful. No one could be sure of life, but by hoisting his colours. He had the audacity to cause two marshals of France to be massacred before his face, and by the side of the dauphin. "Do you mean then to make an attempt on my life?" exclaimed the young prince. "No," replied Marcel, "but, in order that you may be safe, take my hood;" and he accordingly



placed it on the head of the dauphin, who tamely submitted; happy in being able to secure himself from the fury of the people by this tutelary badge. Charles the Bad had married the sister of the dauphin, who did not escape the perfidy of his brother-in-law, without bearing evident marks of it. Some historians say that he was poisoned by him; that the violence of the poison caused his hair and nails to drop off, and that it would certainly have occasioned his death had he not been saved by the skill of a physician; but he was always affected afterwards with great debility.

The disorder spread from the capital to the provinces, and the peasants every where took up arms. Several causes concurred to produce this insurrection: their spite on seeing the English, a rival nation, triumphant; their indignation against the great because they suffered king John, whom they loved, to remain in captivity; and, above all, their desire of revenge for the bad treatment which they had experienced from them. They plundered the inhabitants of the country, without mercy, to support their pomp and magnificence. To oppression, the gentlemen added raillery and insult. Among themselves they called the peasant *Jacques bon-homme*. These *bon-hommes*, however, became tired of their sufferings and humiliation. They armed themselves with sticks, and every thing they could lay their hands on; plundered the castles, and murdered the noble fa-

milies, whom they were able to surprize. This kind of militia got the name of *Jacquerie*. As the danger was general, the gentlemen took up arms for their common defence, and inflicted cruel chastisement on this undisciplined multitude. After various defeats, which may be called massacres, they dispersed.

The dauphin gained an ascendancy by his wisdom, even at a very early period of life. He opened the eyes of the people, brought them back to moderation, and found means to make his brother-in-law adopt the same disposition. He negotiated for a peace with the English at Brétigni en Beauce. It was not, indeed, very advantageous ; but it was doing a great deal to bring it to a conclusion. King John was permitted by the English to return, on condition of his leaving his two sons as hostages, until the complete execution of the treaty.

When we consider the conduct of the monarch, after his return, there is reason to think that he brought back more indifference for his kingdom, than joy on account of his deliverance. He was much hurt that the great had interested themselves so little in his favour, while in prison ; for the states-general thought more of embracing that opportunity to restrain his authority, than of obtaining his release. As he found the affairs of the state well conducted by his son, he left them in his hands, and never interfered, but on important

occasions. Wavering in his resolutions, and undetermined in regard to what he should do, he wished to efface by some splendid exploit, the shame of his imprisonment. With this view he assumed the cross, but a more useful motive has been assigned for his devotion.

After the peace, the disbanded soldiers united under chiefs of their own choosing, and committed various atrocities. They called themselves the *tard venus*, by which they meant to shew that they had come only to glean after the rich harvest obtained by the plunderers. One of their captains named himself the friend of God, and the enemy of the whole world: two titles exceedingly difficult to be reconciled. When the chiefs had acquired sufficient riches, they retired to enjoy their wealth, and quitted their companies, which no longer formed bodies; but there still remained many wandering soldiers, the best and the most profligate in Europe.

King John, on assuming the cross, proposed to assemble them all in one body, and to lead them, as generalissimo of the christian armies, to places where they might exercise their valour, and gratify their avarice with foreign plunder, without desolating christendom. This well planned design, which might have rendered one crusade useful, was not carried into execution. One of the king's sons, who had been left as an hostage in England, made his escape, before all the conditions of the



treaty were executed. His father endeavoured to prevail on him to return, but as he refused, John thought himself obliged to again become a captive, in his stead, and died in England, at the age of fifty-six. Some have said that he was induced to go thither in consequence of an amour; but there is reason to think, when we consider his age and character, that he obeyed a nobler impulse, fidelity to his promise. Such is the opinion which ought to be entertained of a prince who said: "That if honesty were lost on the earth, it ought to be found again in the hearts of kings." He got the surname of Good, which must be left to him, notwithstanding his imprudence and misfortunes.

Charles V.  
the Wise,  
1564.

His son Charles V. deserved that of the Wise. A mere recapitulation of his principal actions will prove, that he justly obtained it. He performed, what his father, prevented by death, was not able to accomplish. He delivered France from the banditti by whom it was ravaged, under the name of malandrins, or great companies. As the wind blows the locusts into the sea from the plains of Africa, Charles V. drove these plunderers into Spain, under the command of the celebrated du Guesclin.

As they pursued their route by Avignon, the pope was alarmed, and sent a cardinal to ask them who they were, and whither they were going. Guesclin replied: "We are thirty thou-

“ sand crusaders, going to make war against the  
“ infidels. We demand absolution of our sins,  
“ and two hundred thousand francs to defray  
“ the expences of our journey.” Absolution was  
granted them without much difficulty, but the  
money occasioned some dispute. At last, the  
pope resolved to impose a tax on the inhabitants  
of Avignon; and the produce of it was carried to  
Guesclin. “ That is not what I meant,” said he.  
“ We are not come hither to plunder the poor,  
“ but to receive a contribution from the rich.  
“ Restore that money to those from whom you  
“ levied it, and let our sum be furnished by the  
“ pope and the cardinals,” They then received  
absolution with great humility.

The advantages which Charles gained by this  
emigration were, that he delivered his kingdom  
from ravage and confusion; that he was able to  
establish in it a proper police, and good morals,  
and that he acquired a faithful ally in Henry  
de Transamara, placed on the throne by Gues-  
clin, who sent a powerful fleet to assist him against  
the English. He was at war with that nation  
during his whole reign. He had five armies in  
the field; and recovered his provinces, some in  
part and others entirely, with a great many con-  
siderable towns. Among his excellent generals,  
we ought to include Guesclin, whom he made  
constable. In regard to the king himself, he sel-  
dom appeared at the head of his troops. Edward

said of him: "No king who interfered so little  
" with military operations ever did me so much  
" hurt." He was not averse to public delibera-  
tion; but he decided alone in the privacy of his  
cabinet. "In state affairs," said he, "the rea-  
" sons may be known, provided the decisions are  
" kept secret".

In the reign of this prince appeared the coun-  
tesses of Montfort and Penthievre, two heroines,  
who disputed for Brittany, during the captivity,  
and after the death of their husbands, under the  
standards of the kings of France and England.  
Mention is made also of several other female war-  
riors, who attacked and defended towns. One  
of them checked all the forces of the constable  
before Fontenai-le-Comté, and exposed herself  
like a common foldier. She was young and  
handsome. When she offered to capitulate, Du  
Guesclin, with great gallantry, suffered her to  
make her own terms.

This great man could not write; but such ig-  
norance was not uncommon at that period. A  
mayor of Rochelle took advantage of this circum-  
stance with great dexterity. The English had  
possession of the citadel; but the mayor, being of  
the true French character, lived on good terms  
with the commandant. One day he invited him  
to dinner in the town: just at the moment when  
they were about to sit down to table, a letter was  
brought to the commandant, as if from the king



of England. Having examined it, and found that it bore the impresson of the king's seal, he was fully persuaded that it had come from his master; but as he could not read, he begged the mayor to tell him what it contained. The crafty citizen, who had given an old letter to the messenger, and who expected that this request would be made to him, had prepared his lesson. He read, therefore, not the contents of the letter, but a supposed order of the king of England, to withdraw the garrison from the castle, for the purpose of being reviewed. The commandant obeyed; and while the troops were out, the mayor seized the citadel.

Charles V. did every thing he could to banish ignorance from his kingdom, and to diffuse through it a taste for letters. He shewed great respect for those by whom they were cultivated. At that time they were called clerks. A certain person having expressed some displeasure on account of the marks of distinction granted to them, Charles replied: "The clerks, or wisdom, cannot be too much honoured; and while wisdom is honoured in this kingdom, it will prosper; but when wisdom is banished, it will fall to ruin." It is, indeed, as much by the sciences as by arms that France has acquired a sort of dominion over the universe. Charles V. ought to be considered as the founder of that immense library, of which Paris is proud, and with great justice. His father,

John having left him about twenty volumes, he added to them nine hundred: an immense number for that period, when printing had not yet been invented. The most gratifying present that could be made to him was a book. He was fond of conversing on the sciences: this was his only relaxation.

The weakness of his constitution did not allow him to engage in those violent exercises practised by his predecessors. He was fond of remaining in his palace, but he was at all times accessible. Though naturally grave, he was no enemy to temperate mirth. He was simple in his dress; but fond of neatness in his court, and of magnificence on public occasions. He followed with great strictness the practices of religion; and being regular in his private life, as well as of an equal temper, issued his orders, when in misfortune, with the same coolness as in prosperity. In Jean of Bourbon he had a spouse worthy of such a prince; she was prudent, pious, and charitable; a pattern of morality, and a living model of virtue for the daughters of the nobility educated at court.

Charles V. died at the age of forty-four. The kingdom, at that period, was in a state of tranquillity; the troops were subject to good discipline, and the finances in the best order. The treasury was full, though no monarch was ever more liberal; but his generosity was a kind of

traffic with the people. Thus he gave lands to the constable, which the latter sold, and expended the money in rewards to the soldiers; to indemnify countries ruined by war, and to support noble families and useful edifices. The king was well aware of all this, and when the price of the piece of land was consumed, he gave him another; he behaved in the same manner to his ministers. Money, by these means, was made to circulate; while industry increased, and enabled the people to pay their taxes. However much he exerted himself to render them easy, he felt some scruples, at his death, respecting those he had imposed; and exhorted his successor to diminish them. It is much to be wished that princes would not reserve these regrets till their last moments.

Contrasts are found even on the throne. This Charles VI.  
1380. wise prince was succeeded by a fool. As Charles VI. was only twelve years of age, the duke of Anjou, the oldest of his uncles, caused himself to be appointed regent. When invested with this authority, he resolved to turn to account, at the expence of France, the right which Jean, queen of Naples, had given him to that kingdom by adoption. He seized on the treasures of the deceased king, which amounted to several millions, and on all his plate and jewels. The most valuable part of these riches was found under a wall of the castle of Melun. A chamberlain of



Charles V. was acquainted with the secret; and the duke of Anjou compelled him, by the rack, to disclose it. The dukes of Burgundy and Berri, the two other paternal uncles, did not fail to plunder also. The duke of Bourbon alone, the maternal uncle, behaved in a manner worthy of his rank. He bestowed every possible care on the education of the young king; but the duke of Burgundy, who had been associated with him in the charge, rendered his good intentions fruitless, by gratifying the humour of his pupil, and favouring the violent inclination which he shewed for pleasure.

The duke of Anjou, by the assistance of his throne, assembled, in order to proceed to Italy, one of the finest armies that had ever quitted France. Its departure was beheld with the same pleasure as that of a robber, by whom one has been robbed, though he carries away his booty. The duke of Burgundy began to assume authority. He persuaded his nephew to carry the war into Flanders, the inhabitants of which had been guilty of no other crime than that of not suffering the exactions of their sovereign, the duke's father-in-law. It was necessary also to send troops into Languedoc, of which the duke of Berri had been appointed governor; but the province, having already experienced his oppressive disposition, in the life-time of his father, would not receive him. This wise prince, in compliance with the

wishes of his people, had recalled his son; but the nephew sent him back with an army, and still more formidable. Such was the state of Charles VI. forced to be the instrument of the avarice of his three uncles.

At the age of eighteen, he espoused the princess Isabella of Bavaria, and his brother the duke of Orleans, Valentina daughter of the duke of Milan. The king then conceived a design of freeing himself from the tutorship of his uncles. To deprive them of their authority, it was sufficient to declare, in a council assembled for the purpose, that in future he would govern himself. He placed around him the ministers of his father. The face of affairs was then changed. The young monarch exerted all his care to relieve his people; diminished the necessary expences; retrenched those which were superfluous, and employed himself in redressing their grievances. He was affable; admitted of decent familiarity, and was fond of saying obliging things. He then acquired the surname of the Well Beloved, by the suffrages of the people, who were charmed with his excellent qualities. Warlike plans of romantic expeditions which he sometimes proposed, such as that of going to combat the Turks and of re-establishing the pope at Rome, and from which he was diverted by factions, gave reason to apprehend that he might engage in these wild schemes, to the great detriment of his kingdom.

He was restrained by his ministers; but they could not oppose his just vengeance against a horrid assassination committed almost before his eyes.

A court composed of ambitious princes, who having been stripped of authority, endeavoured to regain it, and of women of gallantry, authorised by the example of their husbands, and jealous of each other, was likely to give rise to private intrigues, the forerunners of public troubles. The duke of Orleans, who was not very regular in his conduct, made a mystery of these disorders to his young spouse; but she was at length informed of them, and reproached her husband. The latter extorted from her a confession that the secret had been told to her by Peter Craon, his favourite, and he banished him from his court.

Peter Craon was one of those characters who are so dangerous to young princes, being audacious and prodigal; without morals, and without principles. The constable, Oliver Clifton, a grave and regular man, had endeavoured to remove from the duke this corrupter, without being able to succeed. Craon was not ignorant of the efforts which he made, and he believed that some former attempts of Clifton might, on the present occasion, have contributed to his disgrace. On this suspicion he attacked him in Paris, at the head of several assassins; left him dead on the spot, and fled to Brittany, the duke of which,



being an enemy to Clifton, received him with pleasure.

The king, incensed at this act of villainy, demanded that the assassin should be delivered up to him. The duke refused. Charles therefore made preparations for compelling him; and put himself at the head of his troops. The duke of Brittany had a strong party in his favour at court, among whom were the dukes of Burgundy and Berri, who endeavoured to divert their nephew from the war, but who nevertheless followed him. When he arrived at Mans, he was seized with a fever. His uncles advised him to stop, but he continued his march. In this bad state of health, after having travelled several hours in the heat of the sun, during one of the most sultry days of the month of August, the young prince, while slumbering on his horse, was suddenly awaked by a man of a forbidding aspect, covered with rags, who starting from behind a tree seized the bridle of his horse, and exclaimed, with a terrible voice: "Stop, fire! Whither art thou going? Thou art betrayed." He then disappeared.

It may readily be believed that the supposed phantom was posted in this place by his uncles, and those enemies to the war, who doubtless did not foresee all the fatal consequences of their stratagem. The first alarm, occasioned by this vision, being over, the army continued its march. A page who bore a lance, having fallen asleep on

his horse, let it drop from his hand on a helmet, carried by another page, behind the king. The monarch, on hearing the shrill sound it emitted, immediately turned round, and seeing the lance directed towards him, fell with fury on the page; laid him dead on the spot, and galloping about as if frantic, dealt his blows around him on every side. He was at last secured, and conducted to Mans, where he remained two days in a state of lethargy; and no one could conjecture what might be the consequence of this strange accident.

In the mean time, the dukes of Berri and Burgundy assumed the supreme power, to the prejudice of the duke of Orleans, who, as they asserted, was too young. The state of the king's health, whose mind was weak and subject to fits of absence, served as a pretext for concealing from him the situation of public affairs, and for conducting them without his assistance. It afforded a reason also for immersing him in pleasures, in order to dissipate the melancholy by which he was sometimes oppressed.

During one of the fêtes given with this view, some person invented a masquerade of six satyrs, who, that they might appear naked, wore linen dresses made to fit exactly to the limbs, and covered with pitch in order to retain the wool which represented hair. The king was one of the number; and they were all connected by a chain,

The duke of Orleans having imprudently held a torch near one of them, to see whether he knew him, set fire to his dress, and the flames were communicated to the rest. Four of them were so much burnt that they died two days after; but the fifth had the good fortune to find a tub of water, into which he immediately plunged. The king, whose dress had already caught fire, was saved by the duchess of Berri, who extinguished the flames by wrapping her robe round him.

From that time till his death, this prince had always three or four attacks every year. They continued for a longer or shorter period, and with different symptoms. In the evening he became heavy and restless; in the morning, when he awoke, he was furious or silly, sometimes violent and impetuous, sometimes melancholy and sad; he then shed tears. Sometimes also he would sport and play like a child. On these occasions he knew nobody but the duchess of Orleans, his sister-in-law, and would receive nothing but from her hand. A report was spread that she poisoned her brother-in-law in order that the supreme power might devolve on her husband. Others say, that she was indebted, for her ascendancy, to criminal compliance with the king's desires; as if it were possible to discover the causes of the preference given by a fool. The queen, and his aunts the duchesses of Berri and Burgundy, became jealous of the credit which their sister-in-law acquired by



the king's predilection. The husbands interfered in their quarrels, and each espoused the cause of his wife. Hence that hatred which occasioned so much trouble in the kingdom. When the origin is known, no one needs be surpris'd at the strange events by which this unfortunate reign was distinguished.

While the king was in one of his lucid intervals, the duke of Orleans, with the help of his wife's ascendancy, caused himself to be declared lieutenant-general and governor of the kingdom during the relapses of his brother. This edict was oppos'd by the duke of Burgundy, and the rivals made preparations for hostilities; but they were suspended by the duke of Bourbon as long as the king's fit of illness continued. When half recovered, he annulled what he had done for his brother, and gave the whole authority to his uncle. The duke of Orleans, with the assistance of the queen his sister-in-law, took advantage of another of his brother's fits, to get himself restored. The good understanding which prevailed between these two personages, but not without affording employment to the voice of scandal, maintained their authority, and gave them a kind of right to plunder the people, whom they did not spare.

The duke of Burgundy died, and left his states to John, surnamed *Sans Peur*. Being equally ambitious as his father, he insisted on having a share in the government, from which the queen

and the duke of Orleans wished to exclude him. These two personages behaved with the utmost imprudence, and employed every meanness and act of oppression, in order to amass money. It is said that the queen transmitted large sums to Germany, that she might retire thither, and live in splendour, if the king should happen to die. The duke of Orleans purchased land, and neglected to pay his debts. Their court was splendid, while that of the king and his children was sometimes destitute of necessaries. The unfortunate monarch, being too well acquainted with these manœuvres, created, at the time of a lucid interval, a council charged with the government of the state during the king's *absence*, which was the name given to his disease through delicacy.

This precaution neither put an end to the troubles of the kingdom nor cooled the animosity of party. The new duke of Burgundy, through revenge, and instigated by amorous and political jealousy, caused the duke of Orleans, his cousin, to be assassinated; publicly avowed his crime which he pretended to justify, and procured absolution from the king, whom he detained at Paris, after he had driven from it the queen, the children of Orleans, and their partisans. All these persons, however, returned to the capital, and became more powerful; yet the court, intimidated by the duke of Burgundy, whom the Parisians favoured, retired to Tours; but an ac-

commôdation took place, which was facilitated by the death of the dowager of Orleans. John made some excuses to the new duke of Orleans, his cousin. The queen irritated, at first, by the punishment of Montaigu, whom the duke of Burgundy had put to death, on account of his attachment to that princess, became afterwards appeased, because the duke gave her a part of the confiscated property of the deceased. The duke of Burgundy had also sufficient influence to get himself entrusted with the education of the dauphin, in preference to the duke of Berri. To revenge himself for this preference, he renewed his complaints respecting the assassination of the duke of Orleans, and demanded justice. He, at the same time, levied troops, and advanced towards Paris. The return of the king's health averted the storm which was ready to burst forth. He banished the rivals from court; took the government of Paris from the duke of Berri, his uncle, and agreeably to the wish of the inhabitants, gave it to the count de St. Paul. This officer had been deprived of that of Genoa, and recalled. He displeased, it is said, the Genoese, because he was in too great favour with their wives. He did not pursue those mild measures which were capable of establishing him firmly in his new government. As he placed no dependance on the good citizens, who shewed an attachment to the duke of Burgundy, he formed a body of mi-



litia, consisting of five hundred butchers ; but no sooner had they got arms in their hands, than they made the whole city tremble.

It was then divided into three factions : that of the duke of Orleans, called the Armagnacs, from the name of the count d'Armagnac, the duke's father-in-law : they wore a white scarf marked with the cross of St. George ; that of the Burgundians, with red scarfs, and the cross of St. Andrew ; and, in the last place, that of the butchers, called Cabochians, from the name of Caboché their chief. The last, a kind of flying faction, was in turns dreaded and courted by the other two. Insatiable for blood and plunder, it planned murders and robberies ; commanded them, put them in execution, and gave predominance to that faction to which it united itself.

The duke of Burgundy married his daughter to the dauphin Louis, who began to take a share in the management of public affairs. Seeing the dukes of Berri and Orleans approach Paris, where the Armagnacs, under St. Paul, were extremely powerful, he invited thither his father-in-law to support his cause. The duke of Burgundy arrived, bringing along with his own troops a considerable body of English ; but John *Sans Peur* only made his appearance, being recalled to Flanders by a revolt of the Flemings. At the time when this revolt exposed Paris to the danger of becoming a prey to the Armagnacs, the king

awakened from his madness, assembled an army, and drove his uncle and his nephew as far as Bourges, where he besieged them. Though weak and hard pressed, they made no proposals for peace, because they expected a body of six thousand English, whom they had invited to join them. Thus each faction, being equally treacherous to their country, felt no uneasiness at delivering it into the hands of its enemies, provided they assisted them to destroy their rivals. The dread of these auxiliaries induced the king to receive into favour the dukes of Berri and Orleans; but the English who arrived, and who could get no pay, indemnified themselves by plundering.

The king having relapsed into his malady, the dauphin assumed the reins of government. Though son-in-law of the duke of Burgundy, who had returned to Paris, he resolved to free himself from his dominion, and begged he would not take it amiss if he appointed, commandant of the Bastille, Desseffarts, a man in whom he had great confidence. Instead of objecting to this proposal, the malicious Burgundian signed the letter of government; but Desseffarts had no sooner entered the fortress than he found himself invested by a multitude of people under Caboché and John de Troie, another chief and a warm partisan of the duke of Burgundy. The dauphin, who was thrown into great embarrassment, prevailed on his father-in-law to make the insurgents disperse;

but it was necessary to deliver up Deseffarts, who was beheaded, as a warning to those who might attempt to pursue measures disagreeable to the duke. The Cabochians afterwards spread themselves throughout the city, and massacred all those pointed out to them, as suspected persons, by the Burgundian and his friends. The dauphin and the duke of Berri were obliged to assume the red scarf, in order to put themselves in a state of safety. The citizens of Paris, awakened by these acts of violence from the stupor into which they had been thrown, expelled the Cabochians; but not without a great deal of bloodshed. The remainder of these profligates retired to Flanders with the duke of Burgundy.

Paris had then absolutely declared against him. As he threatened to return, the Parisians took up arms and subjected themselves to military discipline. The Burgundian indeed came to the walls, and presented himself before the gates; but seeing no movement in his favour, as he expected, he retired. The king, *on his return*, according to the expression then used, pursued him; but he granted him peace, because it was found necessary to defend the kingdom against the English, who had invaded France in great force. The king's army, which went to meet them, was much superior, but, being badly commanded, was totally put to the rout at Azincourt; a defeat still more disastrous in its consequences than that



of Creci or Poitiers. The duke of Burgundy took advantage of this misfortune to get himself received into favour, and returned to court under the protection of the dauphin, Louis, his son-in-law. This young prince, however, died, being poisoned, according to some, and according to others, killed by debauchery, though of a strong and vigorous constitution. The Armagnacs then acquired the superiority; but not for a long time. The Burgundian got the complete command of the mind of the young dauphin, John. He died of an abscess in the head, too early to revive the Burgundian faction in Paris; but it acquired new strength from the intrigues of the court.

John was succeeded, as dauphin, by Charles, who afterwards filled the throne. This young prince placed his whole confidence in the constable d'Armagnac. During the extreme poverty in which the kingdom was plunged, while again threatened by the English, the constable advised the dauphin to seize the treasure of his mother, Isabella, which was very considerable. The queen was highly incensed at this attempt, and leaving her husband with her son, retired to Vincennes, where she kept an elegant and brilliant court. The constable made the king perceive, during one of his *returns*, that he had a right to be offended with what was going on. The husband went to Vincennes, caused to be arrested and put to death a man who called him-

self the lover of his wife, and banished her to Tours with her youngest daughter. Being much hurt at this insult, which she in part ascribed to her son, though still an infant, Isabella called in to her assistance John *Sans Peur*, who freed her from her state of exile. By his advice, she caused to be revived an ordinance of the king, in which he had formerly declared her regent of the kingdom. She resumed this title with the authority annexed to it, fixed her residence at Troyes, created a chancellor and a parliament, and appointed the duke of Lorraine constable, in the room of d'Armagnac.

This power, a rival to that of the king, and accompanied with every authority that could render it respectable, gave reason to apprehend a political schism in the state. The pope's legate interfered in order to bring about a peace. While negotiations were carrying on for that purpose, eight hundred Burgundians entered Paris by surprise, and, being joined by the populace, broke open the prisons and massacred all those who had taken shelter in them. The constable d'Armagnac was killed: the dauphin saved himself, but with great difficulty. The queen and the duke of Burgundy, being informed of this event, repaired without delay to the capital; but they soon found themselves in a state of great embarrassment, on account of the spirit of sedition which prevailed in it. Every rich man became an Ar-

magnac, and was plundered or massacred without mercy. The mob, being let loose, abandoned themselves to excesses of every kind. The public executioner, who was at their head, had the impudence to lay hold of the duke of Burgundy by the hand, and the latter was obliged to be silent. Troops, however, were introduced into the city, and good order was restored. The dauphin retired to Poitiers, where he established a parliament, consisting of counsellors who had escaped from Paris; named a chancellor, and declared himself regent during the occupation of his father.

In the mean time, queen Isabella, still incensed against her son, was treating with Henry, king of England, who had advanced to Mantes. That she might obtain his assistance to restore her to absolute authority, she promised him her daughter, Catherine, in marriage, on very advantageous terms. They, however, did not appear so to the English monarch. The duke of Burgundy held the balance between the contracting parties; but Henry did not find him disposed so much as he wished to second his pretensions. They aimed at nothing less than to obtain, along with the hand of Catherine, the crown of France. Conceiving that he could dispense with the assistance of the duke of Burgundy, he neglected him. Offended at this coolness, John listened to the solicitations of the dauphin, who made offers towards a reconciliation. The preliminaries were settled by ne-



gotiation; and that they might come to a final agreement, respecting the other articles, the two princes appointed a meeting at Montereau. The duke of Burgundy was assassinated during this conference, before the eyes of the dauphin.

This prince disavowed having any share in the murder. He affirmed that it had been committed without his knowledge; but this disavowal did not prevent Paris, and all France after its example, from exclaiming against this act of perfidy. It promoted, in a very short time, the affairs of the king of England, much more than could have been done by the greatest military successes. A treaty was concluded, by which it was agreed, that Henry IV. should espouse Catherine; that he should govern the kingdom of France with the title of regent during Charles's life-time; and that after his death he should succeed to the throne. The parliament, as well as all the public bodies and cities of the kingdom, approved this treaty, as if by a general enthusiasm. The new duke of Burgundy, Charles the Rash, acceded to it. The other princes of the blood had been carried prisoners to England after the battle of Azincourt. The dauphin was declared an enemy of the state, and incapable of succeeding to the crown.

The war began with great inequality between the dauphin, who had only a small number of partisans, with a few provinces in the southern part, and Henry, supported by all the forces

of England, the assistance of the duke of Burgundy, the suffrages of Paris and of the principal cities, the title of king, and the hatred of the queen-mother to her son. Who, on this occasion, would not have believed the loss of the dauphin certain, and the triumph of the English monarch ensured? But Henry IV. died at the age of thirty-six, leaving a child, by Catherine, nine months old, who was named Henry V. Two months after, the unfortunate Charles VI. became quite an idiot by repeated returns of his malady, and happy in being unacquainted with the misfortunes of his country, died also, aged fifty-four. The regency, under the young king, Henry V. was conferred on the duke of Bedford, brother of Henry IV. instead of the duke of Burgundy, who refused to accept the office. Charles de Valois, such was the name given to the dauphin, caused himself to be proclaimed king in the provinces, and was acknowledged in his small court, which was so limited that, through derision, he was styled the king of Bourges.

From this state to that of a king, who knows no boundaries to his kingdom but those of its ancient limits, a wide space was to be traversed. Charles, surnamed the Victorious, employed fifteen years in passing over it. He has been called also the Well-served, and he was indeed well served, because he rewarded nobly. At first, few of the nobility attached themselves to his fortune;

but they were brave, faithful, and zealous. He obtained, also, foreign assistance. The king of Scotland sent him six thousand men, and the duke of Milan six hundred spear-men and a body of cross-bowmen. With these auxiliaries, and such French volunteers as he was able to collect, he held out the campaign. His finances were so confined that, at first, he had none but soldiers who were satisfied with glory and hopes.

The character of Charles VII. was well suited to the circumstances of the time. He was open, insinuating, and generous; of an even temper; inclined to pleasure, though he did not fear pain, and could employ himself as readily in preparations for a battle as for an entertainment. On a very critical occasion, after an important check, having described to one of his generals an amusement which he intended to exhibit to Agnes Sorel, his mistress, he asked the veteran what he thought of it. "I think," replied the general, "that it is not possible to lose a kingdom more merrily."

Charles VII.  
1422.

It is pretended that he was under great obligations to this favourite, and that she roused him from that state of indolence in which he would otherwise have remained, satisfied with such a part of his kingdom as the English thought proper to leave in his hands. Agnes, knowing one day that he was thus disposed, came to take leave of him. "I am destined for a king," said she,



“ and since you wish to lay aside that character,  
“ I must go in search of a monarch somewhere  
“ else.” This threat, uttered at a proper time, inspired the prince with that energy which he sometimes wanted. Being moderate and calm, it is certain that he had need of being excited; but, on important occasions, no warrior could dispute with him the palm of honour. Often was he seen the foremost among the ranks of the enemy, and the first to mount a breach. But he was borne down by the great superiority of the English. After a war of seven years, when about to lose Orleans, besieged by the English troops, the only town which presented him with a point of support in the centre of the kingdom, he saw himself exposed to the danger of being driven to the extremity of his dominions, without any other asylum, perhaps, than the mountains of Dauphiny, his domain before he became king. In this critical conjuncture, a miracle, if we can believe some historians, or a singular and fortunate stratagem, according to others, saved Orleans and secured Charles VII. on the throne.

Whatever may have been the cause or the motives of the heroine's conduct, inspiration or political sagacity, foreign seduction or internal conviction, the fact, simply stated, is as follows: A country girl, nearly twenty years of age, named Joan, and from a village in Lorraine called Arc, presented herself before the governor of Dom-

remi, and begged he would send her to the king, because God had revealed to her that, under her command, the royal troops would raise the siege of Orleans. The governor refused; but as she still insisted, being overcome by her importunity, he placed her under the guard of two gentlemen, to be conducted to the king.

The journey, across a country entirely occupied by the English, was perilous; but she foretold that it would be happily accomplished, and the event turned out according as she had predicted. When they arrived at court, the king, after having consulted his council, gave orders for her being introduced. His majesty was plainly dressed, and confounded among the crowd of courtiers; but she readily singled him out, and addressing him, said, that she was charged with only two things: to cause the siege of Orleans to be raised, and to lead the monarch to Reims, to be consecrated. Respecting her mission, she submitted to an examination of doctors and divines, whose testimony was in her favour. A large convoy being placed under her direction, she introduced it into the city, and made so many sorties, and gained so many advantages, that the English raised the siege. On account of this triumph, she was styled the Maid of Orleans.

She mounted on horseback, dressed like a man, and charged at the head of the troops with the utmost intrepidity. She besides shewed great

piety, modesty, and wisdom, which was never suspected. After this victory, she proposed a journey to Reims. The greater part of the officers opposed this measure as impossible; but she declared she would be responsible for the event; surmounted every obstacle; dispersed the enemy's troops; ordered the gates of the city to be opened in the name of God; entered Reims; caused the king to be consecrated, and requested leave to retire, because her mission was ended.

As her presence was still thought necessary, she was detained; but she remained with reluctance, and presaged that the result would be fatal. She was, indeed, taken prisoner by the English, and being tried as a sorcerer, was burnt alive at Rouen. The unfortunate girl suffered this barbarous punishment with great courage, and maintained, to the last moment, that she was guilty of no imposture. She ought to be classed among those innocent victims, who have been sacrificed to resentment, cabal, or political circumstances. Is it possible that Charles could be ignorant of the horrid fate which was preparing for this heroine? And if he knew it, why did he not prevent it, by threatening reprisals on the prisoners whom he had in his hands?

After the consecration of Charles VII. his reign was a continued series of victories. He expelled the English from France, and had the satisfaction of establishing good police in his kingdom. He



sent back the soldiers, who by the civil war had become plunderers, to cultivate the fields, and prosecute the arts; and thus got rid of them, not by banishing them from France, as had been the case in regard to the malandrins, and the great companies, but by rendering them useful. On examining the good order which he introduced into every part of the administration, the finances, police, and military discipline, there is reason to conclude that he was a good king.

His fate, in some things, was directly contrary to that of other sovereigns. It was not in the commencement of his reign, when his throne was still in a tottering condition, that he found it shaken by cabals. It was only when it appeared most firmly established, after a series of victories, continued for seventeen years, that he saw it assailed by a dangerous faction. It was called the *Praguerie*, a word, the origin of which is not known. It derived its principal strength from the accession of Charles's son, the dauphin Louis. The father, however, reduced him to obedience, and forgave him, as he did almost all his accomplices.

Charles was unfortunate, both as a son and as a father. Born of Isabella of Bavaria, hated, detested, and robbed, if he could be so, by that step-mother, can any reproach be thrown out against him if he shewed great indifference at her death? She was followed to the grave by the hatred and contempt of the public. Being unfortunate as a

son, we have just seen that his own reduced himself to the necessity of obtaining a pardon; a state which must be extremely afflicting to a father. But it was still more dreadful for that prince to believe that his son was endeavouring to poison him. This persuasion was so deeply impressed on his mind, that through dread of the consequences, he abstained several days from food. When overcome by the intreaties of his domestics, he consented to take some nourishment; it was too late; his stomach could no longer discharge its functions. He died in the sixtieth year of his age.

Louis XI.  
1461.

His son, Louis XI. who had embittered the last years of his father's life, however much accustomed to dissemble, could not conceal his joy, when he heard of the king's death. At that period he was out of the kingdom, under a pretence that he apprehended some violence from his father, who had much more reason to be afraid of his son. On his return to France, he repaired to Reims, where he caused himself to be consecrated. He has been accounted a great politician; but the signification of this term is so indefinite, that it is difficult to affix to it a precise meaning. It belongs to Louis, if we understand by it a prince who pursues the most crooked paths; who makes dissimulation the basis of his conduct; who endeavours to lay snares for others, and who is sometimes caught in them himself. Such was the po-

litical life of Louis XI. If we add a propensity to hatred; the art of paving the way for gratifying his revenge, and of rendering it cruel, we shall then have a very striking portrait of this prince.

He was almost forty when he ascended the throne. This was nearly the age of Tiberius; and the French prince, like the Roman, had impatiently bit the rein, while in expectation of the sovereign power. The former, it is believed, poisoned Augustus; the latter occasioned his father's death through grief. He dismissed all his ministers, recalled those whom Charles had banished, and affected a kind of government totally different. He was under great obligations to John, duke of Burgundy; who had received him with the utmost respect, when he found it necessary to fly from the cruelty of his father. Out of gratitude for this kind treatment, Louis formed a connection with the heir of Burgundy, count de Charolois, named afterwards Charles the Rash, as bad a son as himself. When placed on the throne of France, he continued his intimacy with that prince, as long as he had any hopes of fomenting the quarrel between the father and the son. When he saw that they were likely to be reconciled, he became an enemy to both.

To this prince all measures were good, provided he could accomplish his ends. The duke of Savoy had rendered him some services, when



he was exciting insurrection in Dauphiny against his father; and Louis, to shew his gratitude, engaged to bring about a marriage between him and the heiress of Brittany. As he thought that he could not succeed with the duke of Brittany by insinuation, he invented some pretence for inviting him to his court, and while he detained the father, he concerted a plan for carrying off the daughter, which nearly succeeded. The same duke of Savoy, after a quarrel with his son, came to request the mediation of Louis. The monarch invited the son to a conference with his father; passed his word of honour that he should be safely conducted, and having heard what he had to say, caused him to be shut up in prison. Being always inclined to treachery, he had devised means for carrying off, during the time of profound peace, the duke of Burgundy and count de Charolois; but the design miscarried, through the imprudence of one of those who had been charged with the execution of it.

This dishonourable conduct, calculated to excite alarm, not only in the minds of foreigners, but even in those of the great lords of the kingdom, occasioned what is called the war for the public good; that is to say, the war of those who wished to induce the people, under a pretence of procuring them advantages, to serve their ambition, or their resentment. It was supported by the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, and almost

all the nobility of the ancient court, A battle was fought in the neighbourhood of Paris, and was followed by a reconciliation. On no occasion were there ever so many treaties concluded at the same time. The king entered into one with each of the chiefs, whom he had the art to divide. He granted to each claimant whatever he wished; but the concession made to one contradicted that made to another. Thus Louis found as many reasons as he chose, in order to execute whatever he thought proper, and to reject the rest. In regard to the public good, he shewed much ardour for promoting it; and with great ostentation, appointed a commission, charged with the reformation of abuses. It served him as an inquisition against the revolted nobility. Louis caused them to be summoned before it, as guilty of oppression, and covered his vengeance with the mantle of justice.

For the greater safety, he convoked the states-general, and caused every thing he had done to be confirmed. He took great care to recommend regulations *for the public good*, to the advantage of the people. In this assembly, Normandy was irrevocably united to France. As every thing, in general, succeeded with the king, when he conducted treaties himself, which excited high ideas of his talents, he took it into his head to confer with count de Charolois, now become duke of Burgundy, respecting an accommodation, that re-

quired great shrewdness and dexterity. There can be no doubt that he intended to deceive the duke. He requested an interview; it took place at Peronne, which then formed a part of the states of Burgundy, and, to inspire more confidence, Louis repaired thither without his guards.

During the conference, the Liege, gained over by the king, though it appeared that the monarch had not pointed out with sufficient precision the proper moment, revolted, and cut to pieces the Burgundian garrison. The duke, informed of the king's proceedings, caused him to be arrested, and kept him three days a prisoner in the dungeon of a castle. Louis stooped to every kind of meanness, in order to extricate himself from the disagreeable affair in which he was involved. He did not, however, obtain his liberty, but by making great sacrifices, and promising to repair with the duke to Liege, not only to witness the punishment of his friends, but even to co-operate in it with his own troops. He was ashamed of this act of imprudence his whole life. To the Parisians, a people fond of raillery, it afforded matter of triumph. They taught their magpies and jackdaws to repeat Peronne, Peronne; but the monarch being incensed, caused these prattling birds to be massacred, wherever they were found.

It was just that a prince, so fond of deceiving others, should be deceived himself. History



has preserved the names of several ministers who were unfaithful to him. One of the most celebrated was cardinal la Balue, his most intimate confidant, who kept up a secret correspondence with the duke of Burgundy. The king discovered it; and caused la Balue to be confined in an iron cage, eight feet square, in the castle of Loche: a punishment which was the more approved, as the cardinal had invented it, and inflicted it on others. In that state he remained eleven years.

Death delivered Louis XI. from those princes by whom he was most harassed: his brother, who is believed to have been poisoned, and Charles the Rash, who perished in a battle fought in Lorraine. It is supposed that the king had attempted to get rid of him by poison, and that the duke served him in the same manner. Such suspicions do great honour to these princes. The duke of Burgundy left only one daughter. The king took advantage of her minority, to invade the best part of his states, choosing rather to be indebted for them to stratagem and the force of arms, than to a marriage which he might have brought about between the dauphin his son and that heiress.

Historians have endeavoured to discover the cause of this preference, and it has been believed, that it was owing to the gloomy character of Louis, who was afraid of rendering his son, by this alliance, too powerful during his life-time. When he came to be free and uncontrouled in

his government, he kept the nobility and his whole court in a state of subjection. Those who beheld him trembled at his very look. We have one instance of his cruel and vindictive character in the punishment of James D'Armagnac, duke of Nemours, a man, accused indeed of crimes, but who would have escaped, had he not given some private offence to the king. The monarch caused him to be beheaded, and ordered his two sons to be placed under the scaffold, that they might be besprinkled with the blood of their father: an act of atrocious inhumanity!

The domestic life of Louis was melancholy and severe. He was naturally, says his historian, a friend to people of the middle class. His principal favourite was Oliver le Daim, who had been his barber. He was more familiar with persons of this sort, than became a man of his rank. When reproached, on this account, he replied by a just maxim, the application of which he, however, extended too far: "When pride walks before, shame and ruin are at no great distance." His dress and deportment were not calculated to procure respect; but he inspired fear which was his only aim. He left very little to be done by his ministers. He used to say that he carried his whole council in his head. He was extremely ready to speak ill of people, except those whom he feared; for he was naturally timid. This pusillanimity was the principle of his super-

stitution. No king ever carried it so far in external marks of devotion, and trifling ceremonies. He promised every thing desired of him, and swore to it, provided it was not by the cross of St. Lo; because he was persuaded that those who perjured themselves after such an oath, would die in the course of the year. As he had no inclination to keep his word, he did not choose to expose himself to danger; but he swore with great readiness by a small *notre-dame* of lead, which he carried in his cap.

During his last illness, he was surrounded by relics. He caused them to be brought to him from all quarters, and even the holy phial, which he sent for to Reims. Francis de Paul, founder of the Minimes, enjoyed in Calabria the reputation of a saint; and a saint, according to Louis, ought to perform miracles. He invited him, therefore, to his court, that he might restore him to health; and was highly displeased, when the saint said, that he could do nothing more than pray to God to cure him. It was not prayers that the patient wanted. He died in the sixty-first year of his age.

This prince, as we have seen, was a bad son and a bad husband, as he did not shew towards his spouse, Charlotte of Savoy, that external respect which would have enabled her to bear with patience his infidelity and caprice. In the last place, he was a negligent father, in regard to his



son, as he caused him to be educated at a distance, and rarely saw him. Some days before his death, he sent for him, and gave him advice, worthy of a prudent and virtuous monarch: to love peace, to live on good terms with his neighbours, and to behave to his subjects with mildness and equity. Louis XI. was much favoured by fortune. All those who might have opposed his measures, or set bounds to his avarice and ambition, died before him; and he applied their property to his own use, under various pretences; such as homage, inheritance, mortgage, and reversions, which he could redeem when he thought proper. It is very singular, says a certain historian, that he exalted the royal authority, while his manner of life, his character, and his whole external appearance, seemed calculated to degrade it. He united under his sceptre Anjou, Maine, Barois, Provence, and almost all Artois; several cities of Picardy, Roussillon, Cerdagne, and the county of Boulogne.

Charles  
VIII. 1483.

As Charles VIII. had attained to manhood, there was properly no regency. According to the dispositions made by Louis XI. the supreme authority was committed to the hands of Anne de Baujeu, his daughter, sister of the young king. Louis duke of Orleans, and the duke of Bourbon, the nearest princes of the blood, endeavoured to dispute this kind of guardianship with madam de Baujeu; but she appealed to the states-general,

who confirmed her power: a decision which does honour to Louis XI. and to her who was the object of it. She, indeed, governed with great prudence.

It was thought necessary to satisfy the public discontent, by the punishment of three insolent favourites. Oliver le Daim, who, from being a barber, had become count de Melun, was hanged for murder and adultery. John Doyac, of a birth equally mean, who had risen to a dignified place in the parliament, and who had acquired great riches, after being flogged through the streets of Paris, was deprived of his tongue and one of his ears. He was then conducted to Auvergne, of which he had been governor. His other ear was cut off in the town of Montferand, the place of his birth, and he was again flogged; but he preserved his treasure, which he concealed so well that it was never discovered. James Coctier, the third, was a physician. Louis XI. durst neither refuse him any thing, nor punish him for his insolence. "I know well," said he, with great effrontery to that weak prince, "that you will one day treat me as you have done the rest; and that you will confine me in prison, or put me to death; but you will not live three days after me." It was, however, thought sufficient to banish him. He recovered his riches on paying a heavy fine: a good hint to those intriguing cha-

acters, who wish to insinuate themselves into courts.

The duke of Orleans did not remain long submissive to the decision of the states. He formed cabals, in order to get possession of the supreme authority, and levied some troops. What gave madam de Beaujou the greatest uneasiness was, that this open, affable prince, endowed with the most amiable qualities, had great influence over the young king. She, however, succeeded in getting him removed. He retired into Brittany, and prevailed on the duke to espouse his quarrel. A battle ensued, in which the duke of Orleans was defeated, and taken prisoner. Three years after, the king himself went to release him from the tower of Bourges, where he was confined, and commissioned him to negotiate respecting his marriage with Anne, heiress of Brittany.

This princess had many suitors; but the duke of Orleans was one of those who met with the best reception. He, however, was so generous, that to preserve the peace of France, and of Brittany, he induced her to marry Charles VIII. This young monarch, with the best intentions, had the misfortune of suffering himself to be easily led into wrong measures. Some suggested to him the conquest of Naples, which they said belonged to him, as heir to the house of Anjou, and which was an object of glory suited to a young prince,



to whom it would be shameful to languish in indolence. Full of gigantic ideas, Charles collected an army; traversed Italy without any obstacle; entered Rome as a conqueror and master; subdued the whole kingdom of Naples, except one town; was attacked on his return, at Fournove, by a formidable army of the united princes of Italy, which he defeated; and returned to France triumphant, and ruined. This attempt was not sufficient. He meditated a new expedition against Naples, from which his troops had been expelled after his return; but he died by an accident at the age of twenty-eight, with the surname of the Affable and Civil.

Louis XII. duke of Orleans, threatened by the intrigues of the court, was still in dread of imprisonment or disgrace, when the death of Charles VIII. who left no male children, opened for him the way to the throne. He was grandson of the duke of Orleans, brother of Charles VI. assassinated by the duke of Burgundy. One might have believed, on seeing Louis XII. in the middle of his predecessor's court that it had always been his own. No change was made. The same ministers were continued. Those who had ill-treated Louis before he obtained the royal dignity, experienced neither his vengeance nor displeasure. "It is unworthy of the king of France," said he, "to punish injuries done to the duke of Orleans." They preserved their places and pro-

Louis XII.  
1498.

perty. Nothing had disappeared, but the person of Charles VIII. His widow, Anne of Brittany, after a year granted to decency, and the forms necessary for the separation of Jean, daughter of Louis XI. whom Louis, when duke of Orleans, had married contrary to her inclination, assumed the place of that princess on the throne and in the bed of the new king. Even in the war there was a perfect resemblance. Louis XII. carried his arms also to Italy; but not as king of Naples. He abjured the pretended hereditary right of the house of Anjou; but retained his claim as representative of his grandmother, Valentina of Milan, lawful heiress of that duchy.

Louis XII. rendered himself formidable to two republics, Genoa and Venice. The former, humbled and subjected, received severe laws. The latter, become proud by its riches, saw itself not only abandoned by its allies, but even attacked by a league, the head and chief agent of which was the king of France. Venice escaped ruin by its sacrifices and political cunning. The popes acted a conspicuous part in this war. Alexander VI. employed excommunication and poison. Julius II. with a cuirass on his body, and a helmet on his head, took cities and won battles. Louis XII. sometimes an enemy, and sometimes reconciled, did not make sufficient use of his power against these pontiffs, through complacency for Anne of Brittany his spouse, who

was exceedingly devout and exceedingly timid. When these popes found themselves hard pressed by the royal arms, they inspired the queen with apprehensions that the procedure, in regard to the dissolution of the princess Jean's marriage, would be revised, and her own rendered void. These artful insinuations made the queen prevent the king from making use of his advantages. By various untoward events he lost, in Italy, those conquests which had cost France so much blood and treasure.

No other reproach can be thrown out against this mild and compassionate prince, who was, at all times, accessible. Never did any monarch entertain more respect for the liberty of his subjects. It is much to be wished, that those who have the right of condemning to imprisonment might, like him, first experience all the hardships and inconvenience of that state. He has been blamed for marrying, at the age of fifty-four, Mary, daughter of Henry VII. king of England, who was only seventeen. But his punishment for that fault was not of long duration. She made an entire change in his manner of life. "When he ought to have dined at eight o'clock, he was obliged to dine at noon; and when he ought to have gone to bed at six in the evening, he often did not go to bed till midnight." This complacency for his young spouse carried him to his grave two months and a half after his



marriage. He was considered as too economical; and on this subject his avaricious courtiers published a great many satires. They even introduced him on the stage. This, however, gave him no offence. "I had much rather," said he, "that my subjects should laugh at my economy, than shed tears for being oppressed." He, indeed, lessened the taxes one half, and never imposed new ones. In a word, the murmurs of censure, if he deserved any, are silenced by the following proclamation of the public crier when he announced his death: "Pray to God for the good king Louis, the father of his people." This is the noblest of all funeral orations.

Francis I.  
1515.

His successor, Francis I. descended from the same branch, the duke of Orleans and Valentina of Milan, was one degree more distant from the crown than Louis XII. who left no male children. He had a romantic turn, that is to say, was passionately fond of arms, considering it a great honour to brave every danger without reflecting on the risk or foreseeing the consequences. Almost as soon as he ascended the throne, he had an opportunity of exercising his courage against the Swifs. These people had made an irruption into France in the reign of Louis XII. and did not leave it but on receiving the promise of a large sum of money. When Francis ascended the throne, it had not been paid; and, therefore, he found them much discontented when he passed

the Alps to go and take possession of the Milanese. A bloody battle, which lasted two days, took place at Marignan. It was more to the advantage of Francis than of the Swiss; but the two nations learned to esteem each other. After that period Francis I. had always Swiss companies among his troops. He secured the Milanese by garrison, and returned in triumph.

Young, ambitious, and already a conqueror, he placed himself among the number of the candidates for the imperial crown; but it was carried by Charles V. who was a better negotiator. This was the origin or cause of the hatred between these two princes, almost equal in age and power; but the constant success of the emperor shewed how superior prudence is to bravery, without good counsel. Charles, if I may use the expression, had events at command; and he employed every thing to embarrass his enemy. He deprived Francis I. more than once, of allies who were inclined from interest to be faithful to him, among whom was Henry VIII. king of England. The French and English monarchs, at an interview, the magnificence of which was then celebrated, had sworn to maintain a sincere friendship for each other. The spot where it took place was called *le Champ du drap d'Or*. But the oaths of Henry VIII. though he had a real esteem and affection for Francis I. could scarcely ever hold out against the artful solicitations of Charles.

One of the great misfortunes of Francis I. a misfortune which carried with it a great many others, was the defection of the constable de Bourbon. It is agreed that this nobleman was urged on by madam d'Angouleme, the king's mother, who had conceived an affection for him during a visit which she paid to the court in the time of Louis XII. When she saw herself, in some measure, seated on the throne with her son, she imagined that Bourbon would not hesitate to accept her hand, which she offered to him. He, however, not only rejected it; but, what is never allowed, assigned reasons for his refusal, which attacked the character and beauty of the princess. Though old, she was no less sensible of any reflections thrown out against her charms. Her love was converted into the most violent hatred, and the king, her son, was so weak as not to suppress the effects of it, which aimed at nothing less than to ruin the constable by an unjust process.

Bourbon went over to the emperor. Francis was more in the wrong for exposing himself to the danger of losing so good a general, as he was then at war with Charles V. He advanced into Italy with great success, and laid siege to Pavia. As the imperial generals had not a sufficient number of troops to deliver the city, which was on the point of surrendering, the constable brought them twelve thousand Germans, raised at his own



expence. Prudence dictated to the king to retire; but he thought his honour interested to take the city. "In war, however," said Trimouille to him, "the true honour is to succeed. No reason can ever justify a defeat." Regardless of so wise a remonstrance, Francis waited for the enemy, and being beat, was taken prisoner.

Charles V. did not behave towards him with generosity. He extorted more promises from him, before he set him at liberty, than he ought to have believed that a king, when restored to freedom, would perform. The infractions of this treaty occasioned between these two princes new wars, bravadoes, and insulting challenges. This conduct, reprehensible even between private individuals, did not prevent Charles from trusting to Francis's word, though he had often deceived as well as insulted him, and of passing through France with a guard of safety from the French monarch. He was magnificently received, and treated with friendship; yet the emperor was so ungrateful as to break the promise made to the king of giving the investiture of the duchy of Milan to his second son. The consequence was a new war. As age relaxed the activity of the two rivals, the war relaxed also; so that Francis I. having never been a single day of his reign at peace, found himself in that state when he died, at the age of fifty-three. He was of a noble, generous, magnificent, disposition, and merited the

glorious title of the father and restorer of letters.

Henry II.  
1547.

Henry II. was twenty-nine years of age when he ascended the throne. Diana de Poitiers, duchess of Valentinois, his mistress, was forty-seven. This lady found means to secure his affection till her death, to the great displeasure of Catherine of Medici, his spouse, who had the mortification of being deprived of the love of her husband, and of that power which she beheld in the hands of another. The thirteen years of this prince's reign were thirteen years of foreign war, while continual peace prevailed in France, notwithstanding some court intrigues and persecution against the protestants. Francis I. had set the example, and repented it. Henry II. proceeded still farther; and did not avert his eyes from the horrid spectacle of seeing several of these sectaries burnt. The cries of these unhappy wretches excited some emotions in his breast; but he nevertheless issued fulminating edicts against them. The hatred and animosity which afterwards rendered the civil wars so bloody and cruel, were thus fomented. Henry II. was struck in the eye by the splinter of a lance during a tournament, and died of his wound, at the age of forty-two. Were we to give him a character, it would be that of being too obstinate in his political projects; of permitting changes prejudicial to the public good, and of adopting too readily the ideas of the last

person with whom he conversed. In other respects, he was affable and polite; brave like his father, and a loyal chevalier.

With him ended this institution, which gave us a Pothon, a Lahire, a Bayard, and so many others, worthy of being styled, like the chevalier last mentioned, without fear, and without reproach. This expression points out the two qualities, which constituted the true chevalier: bravery, and an assemblage of all the social virtues. It has been already remarked that rites, allusive to religion and gallantry, were employed in the ceremony of reception into the order; that there was a sort of fraternity among the chevaliers, and that hospitality was practised with cheerfulness and good humour. The arrival of a chevalier at a castle produced a festival. The minstrels and troubadours, itinerant poets and musicians, turned into verse and songs the high deeds of arms of these worthies, and inflamed the young knights with a desire of imitating them. It was not so much the misfortune which befel Henry II. during one of these spectacles, that destroyed this society, as the use of fire arms, which has changed the nature of attack and defence, as well as the order of battle.

The whole reign of Francis II. who was only sixteen when he ascended the throne, exhibits nothing but one scene of conspiracy. The Guises, princes descended from a younger branch of the

Francis II.  
1550.



house of Lorraine, having caused Francis to espouse Mary Stuart, their niece, assumed to themselves the whole authority. Anthony, king of Navarre, and Condé, prince of Bourbon, endeavoured to come in for a share. Being assisted by Coligni and others, they formed a plan for seizing the person of the king, who was in the castle of Amboise, in order that they might govern under his name. The conspiracy was, however, discovered, and three of the chiefs were executed in the presence of the queen-mother, and the ladies of the court. Nearly twelve hundred were hanged, drowned, or beheaded. The streets of Amboise were inundated with blood. The prince of Condé and the king of Navarre were brought to trial. Nothing could be laid to the charge of the latter; but the former was condemned to death. He was on the point of being executed, and the king of Navarre was to be assassinated for want of proofs. Francis II. died almost suddenly of an abscess in the head, at the age of eighteen. The conspiracy of Amboise is the first event of the civil war, by which France was distracted during forty-five years. It established a line of demarcation between the catholics and the protestants, called also huguenots. There were then two very evident factions at court, and two very distinct parties in the kingdom. The sudden death of Francis II. produced, in a moment, a change in the face of the court.

The Guises, who during the period of their authority had neglected the queen-mother, now endeavoured to obtain her favour, because they well knew the influence which she had over Charles IX. who was only ten years of age; but she did not suffer herself to become a dupe to their arts. By insinuation and mildness, she detached the heads of the party; and governed with a considerable degree of tranquillity. This calm was not agreeable to Francis de Guise, who placed himself at the head of the catholics. He had need of a war; and began it by causing some protestants to be massacred while attending divine worship at Vassi. His rivals accepted this kind of challenge, and the war commenced with fury. Anthony, king of Navarre, was killed before Rouen, to which he had laid siege, and Guise was assassinated under the walls of Orleans, which he was blockading. The prince of Condé had been wounded and taken prisoner at the battle of Dreux. The death of the two chiefs, and the captivity of the other, facilitated the conclusion of the peace negotiated by Catherine. It was made on pretty equitable terms.

It was, however, not of long duration. Condé did not consider it as sufficiently advantageous. He endeavoured, in conjunction with Coligni, to surprise the court at Mousseaux; but it escaped to Paris. Another battle was fought, without any decisive success, in the plain of St. Denis.

The constable de Montmorenci, who with Condé commanded the catholic army against his nephew Coligni, general of the protestant army, was killed. A new peace was concluded, but not more stable than the rest. In another battle, fought at Jarnac, the prince of Condé, after being wounded in the field, was assassinated in cool blood. The remains of the protestant army were saved by Coligni, who again stood an engagement at Montcontour; was again beat, and retired as conqueror. On these two occasions the catholics were commanded by Henry duke of Anjou, youngest brother of Charles IX. who was afterwards Henry III. Henry prince of Bearn, son of Anthony and Jean of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV. then made his first campaign under the eye of Coligni. Notwithstanding the victories of the catholics, the protestants obtained an honourable peace.

Being indestructible by open force, Catherine and her council resolved to get rid of them by treachery. The principal chiefs of the protestants were allured to court, on account of the marriage of the young prince of Bearn with the princess Margaret, sister of Charles IX. Queen Jean carried thither her son, and died almost suddenly. The poisoning, if it took place, was so well disguised, that this accident gave no alarm to the protestant nobility. They all suffered themselves to be enclosed in Paris, as if in a net, and were all massacred during the night of St. Bartholomew,



1572, both in the capital and throughout the whole kingdom, with all those circumstances of barbarity which characterise religious assassinations.

Charles IX. pronounced against the young king of Navarre, his brother-in-law, and the prince of Condé, son of him who had been killed at Jarnac, the following terrible sentence, in three words: *mass, death, or the bastille*. Both complied with his wishes. The king, having the chiefs in his power, thought the party exterminated; but it still maintained itself in the provinces. It even soon found protectors at the court, from which Navarre and Condé had escaped. Francis, duke of Alençon, the last of the king's brothers, supported himself by the protestants in order to extort from it favours. These rebels, whom Charles IX. had hoped to destroy, by wallowing in their blood, re-appeared, as horrid spectres, around his tomb. Having assembled in Normandy, he was obliged, during his last illness, to fly from the castle of St. Germain, where he was waiting for death. He was carried off at the age of twenty-four, after being exposed to the most excruciating pain, which was considered as a just punishment for the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

Henry III. was at this time in Poland, the crown of which had been conferred on him, to the great satisfaction of his brother, Charles IX. who was exceedingly happy to see this object of his jealousy removed to a distance. At the age

Henry III.  
1551.

of twenty-three, he put that of France on his head, already ornamented with the laurels of several victories. His mother governed, in the mean time, with great address and ability. Henry, on his arrival, gave a high idea of his administration, by an apparent neutrality between the parties; by firmness in his resolutions and application to business; but these excellent dispositions were not of long continuance.

The protestants entertained well founded prejudices against him. They considered him as a very active accomplice in the massacre of St. Bartholomew; and put no confidence either in his demonstrations of neutrality or the sincerity of his promises; because they knew him to be inconstant, fickle, and open to seduction. The queen-mother, indeed, whose aim was to govern, soon disgusted him with the painful labours of royalty. She procured for him the most gratifying pleasures, immersed him in the indolence of voluptuousness, and favoured, and even excited, his passions, with a complacency unworthy, not only of a mother, but even of a woman of decency. Nature, it is believed, was insulted in these scenes of debauchery, or, if she was respected, the irregularities of them appeared so licentious, that the name of minions was publicly given to his favourites.

Henry imagined he could regain or preserve the esteem of the catholics, by the most whim-

sical acts of devotion. He established fraternities of penitents and familiar associations, in the South, distinguished from each other by the colours white, blue, and black. He has been seen assisting barefooted at their processions, covered with their sackcloth, and masked with their capouch, in which his head was buried. But the chiefs of the catholics deprived him of the fruits of this ridiculous affectation, by unveiling his turpitude. They made his religion also to be suspected, by publishing that the tranquillity in which he suffered the protestants to live, without persecuting them, was not so much owing to a dread of their power as to his affection for them.

These catholic chiefs were the two sons of the duke of Guise, assassinated at Orleans. The one a cardinal, bold in his councils; the other a warrior, intrepid in the execution of them. A third, named the duke of Mayenne, was still too young to make any figure. When we consider the indolence of the king, the idea entertained that his debaucheries would prevent him from leaving posterity, and that after him there was no one but the duke of Alençon, a bachelor and of weak talents, there can be no doubt that the duke of Guise had formed a plan for obtaining the crown, by the support of the catholics, to the exclusion of the king of Navarre, the presumptive heir, who had returned to the protestant religion. Henry III.



favoured this pretension by his bad conduct, though contrary to his wish.

He suffered the protestants to wrest from him several places of strength, which were necessary to protect them against the enterprises of the catholics. The latter pretended that they had need also of places of shelter, and when these were refused, they conceived themselves authorised to unite by an oath for the defence of their religion, which seemed to have been abandoned by the king. This gave rise to the *League* or *Holy Union*. Henry III. suffered this confederacy to be revived instead of suppressing it, and when it had acquired its full strength, he thought the best way of disconcerting its projects was to place himself at the head of it, as he should thus be able to dive into its secrets and moderate its movements. But the Guises left him only the appearance of authority in their party, and what was absolutely necessary for the character he held, that his name might give an air of legality to the league.

Henry III. had endeavoured to preserve a balance between the two leagues; for it must be allowed that the association of the protestants, who had fortresses, troops, and chiefs, was a real league, but that of the catholics did not leave the king at liberty to make peace. It hurried him on to war contrary to his inclination; but as he did

not exert himself in it with that vigour which the leaguers wished, they gave their whole confidence to the Guises, and forced the king, on the day of the barricadoes, to quit his capital. When on the point of being deposed, in the states of Blois, or of experiencing a worse fate, if there could be a worse for a monarch, he caused them to be assassinated.

The league was so well cemented, and the people were so much devoted to the cause, that this murder, instead of restoring to Henry III. his power, threw him into the greatest embarrassment. A general insurrection of the catholics took place. The king, attacked by them and abandoned by the protestants, found himself almost deserted. This misfortune awakened in him his ancient bravery. The duke of Mayenne, being acknowledged chief of the party in the room of his brothers, closely pursued Henry III. compelled to fly, and shut him up in a corner, as it were, in the suburbs of Tours. Like an enraged animal, which turns round on the hunters by whom it is hard pressed, Henry sallied forth against the leaguers, and, having defeated them, obliged them to retire and to leave him at liberty to join the king of Navarre.

This prince had a long time before informed him of the perfidious conduct of the league, and offered him his services. Being attacked with fury by the leaguers, under the banners of

Henry III. he had defeated them at Contras ; but after his victory he remained in a state of suspense and uncertainty, in the mountainous districts of France, the most convenient for maintaining a defensive war, waiting with anxiety to see what resolutions the league would form against him. He could entertain no doubt that the Guises had a personal hatred against him, since the death of the duke of Alençon had rendered him heir to the throne. The news of the murder of this rival gave him, therefore, inward satisfaction, but he had the modesty not to make it a matter of triumph, being contented with offering himself once more to Henry III. This prince hesitated, through fear, lest his junction with the protestants should confirm the reports which had been spread respecting his attachment to that religion ; but finding his followers reduced to a very small number of faithful soldiers, he determined to call in the king of Navarre, who arrived in time to assist him to repulse the leaguers from the walls of Tours.

“ Let us march to Paris !” said the prince to him, full of vivacity and ardour, and a resolution to that effect was immediately formed. This city was governed by the *Sixteen* ; that is to say, being divided into sixteen quarters, the heads of the council of each quarter assembled under the influence of the chiefs of the leaguers, and formed decisions which they caused to be adopted by the



quarters. The people were misled, and confirmed in their prejudices, by orators who, in a catholic faction, it is natural to suppose, were ecclesiastics. Publications in favour of the faction were dispersed in abundance, and none of a contrary tendency were permitted. The fury and rage of the people against Henry III. in this great city were at their utmost height. On intelligence being received of the death of the duke of Guise, they declared that his assassin had forfeited the throne; and they erased his name from the public prayers. They did not even hesitate to say, that it would be a meritorious action to put him to death. An ecclesiastic, urged on, as is supposed, by fanaticism, engaged to commit this crime, in order to gratify the duchess of Montpensier, the sister of the Guises, and accordingly carried it into execution. Henry III. was stabbed with a knife by the assassin, in the neighbourhood of Paris, and died at the age of thirty-nine. Endowed with noble qualities; valiant, popular, and eloquent; he might have been judged worthy of the throne had he never filled it.

No opposition was made to the right of Henry IV. to the crown, though there were three hundred and thirty-six years between him and Robert, sixth son of St. Louis, lord of the barony of Bourbon, from whom he derived his origin. His religion, however, served as a reason or a pretence to several catholic lords for deserting him.

Henry IV.  
1589.

Being thus abandoned, he was obliged to decamp from before Paris. He was pursued by the duke of Mayenne into Normandy, to which he had retired, in order that he might proceed thence to England, in case he found himself too hard pressed. He, however, hazarded a battle at Arques, near Dieppe, in which he was successful. This victory inspired him with confidence to return towards Paris. Mayenne opposed to him a new army in the plains of Ivry, and was again beaten. Henry then encamped before Paris, of which he might have made himself master by famine, had he refused to grant a passage to a multitude of old men, women, and children, whom the duke of Nemours, then governor, had ordered to remove from the city, that he might save provisions. The king's generals reproached him on account of this indulgence. But, say the historians, "Henry IV. would have exposed himself to the reproaches of the whole world, rather than to those of his heart."

It is confirmed by experience that the ferment of civil war is soon exhausted, if not maintained by foreigners. The protestants had called in the assistance of the Germans, and the leaguers that of the Spaniards. Philip II. king of Spain, foreseeing that the league would be annihilated if Paris were taken, sent to its relief the prince of Parma, who caused the siege to be raised. Henry IV. retired, and left the cabals, by which

the capital was agitated, to have their free course. The sixteen exercised the supreme power, but with a despotism and insolence which irritated the duke of Mayenne. They caused two respectable magistrates, of whom they were suspicious, to be hung. Mayenne retaliated, and ordered four of them to be executed in like manner. The rest dispersed themselves and fled. Paris remained in a kind of calm, amused by the spectacle of the pretended states, which was assembled in it. Philip II. aimed at nothing less than to cause the infant, his daughter, to be declared queen of France; but he did not find the duke of Mayenne ready to comply with his wishes, and Henry IV. disconcerted all the factions, by returning to the catholic religion, of which he made public profession.

This change, however, did not put him in immediate possession of the whole of his kingdom. He was obliged to subdue some provinces by force. Others voluntarily acknowledged him. The protestants, displeased at his conversion, were appeased by an edict issued at Nantes. This edict, a measure of great prudence, was calculated to give equal satisfaction to reasonable catholics and protestants. Those most difficult to be satisfied were the nobility, who had attached themselves to him during his distresses. They never thought themselves sufficiently rewarded. They murmured and threatened, so that the king



was obliged to make an example of the most dangerous among them. Biron, by his ill-concerted plots, lost his head.

Henry IV. had four avowed mistresses, who all brought him children, without reckoning those who escaped notice by their obscurity. It is too well proved that, at the time of his death, he was on the point of kindling up the flames of war in Europe, on account of an amour. Having still a turn for gallantry when grey-headed, he conceived a passion for young Montmorenci, the wife of the prince of Condé, his cousin. The latter removed his wife from court, and found an asylum for her and himself among the Spaniards. Henry imagined that he was insulted by this protection; and made the most active preparations to commence a formidable war, for which, as may be readily believed, he assigned other pretences.

These acts of weakness would have rendered him contemptible to posterity, were not the remembrance of them effaced by those virtues which constitute a great king: military talents; the art and desire of rendering his people happy; and discernment in the choice of his ministers. On this occasion, the reader will recollect Sully, who has been so often cited as a model in administration. Henry IV. was of a mild, open, familiar disposition. He was, however, attacked by the daggers of two assassins; and died at the age of fifty-six, by the hand of a third. It is a

tain on the reputation of Henrietta de Balzac, his mistress, and of Mary de Medici, his wife, that historians are not agreed which of them armed the assassin. Noblemen, whom this prince had loaded with favours, are assigned to them as accomplices. Others lay the blame of the whole crime on the agents of the court of Spain. It is, however, possible that the assassin may have been a melancholy desperado, a fanatic in religion, without counsellors, or accomplices, as he declared. Henry IV. has been named *Henry the Great*. The following verse, which may serve as his epitaph, has been generally approved :

Il fut de ces fujets le vainqueur et le père.\*

The reign of Louis XIII. his son, may be divided into three periods : under Mary de Medici, his mother, under the constable de Luynes, and under the cardinal de Richelieu.

Mary of Medici did not reign herself, but under Concini, and Leonora Galigai. The former, a poor Florentine gentleman, who came to France with the queen to push his fortune, succeeded in his views by marrying Leonora, the daughter of a Florentine artist, whom Mary had carried with her, in the humble state of a domestic, and who afterwards became her favourite. The queen was four years regent of her son, who was only nine when he ascended the throne ; and

Louis XIII.  
1610.

\* He was the conqueror and father of his subjects.

after he came of age she continued to hold the reins, surrounded by cabals and intrigue.

The princes of Soissons and Condé were at the head of a body of malcontents; Condé was arrested, and released. The malcontents levied troops; but they depended more on the secret negotiators whom they had around the king, than on the power of their arms. They persuaded the young monarch that the discord arose from the obstinacy of his mother, in supporting a favourite unworthy of her kindness; and it was agreed that Concini should be sacrificed. He had procured for himself the rank of marshal of France, without any military service, merely because it was convenient for his purposes. Vitri, a captain of the guards, obtained the same honour, for having assassinated him. The queen was sent prisoner to the castle of Blois; and Leonora was put to death as a sorceress. Their whole property was given to Luynes, who had been the soul of the intrigue.

He had two brothers, Brantes, and Cadenet, who, as is said, were at most gentlemen of Provence. Being in the king's guards, they had recommended themselves to his notice, by childish amusements. On account of these puerilities, neither the queen nor her favourite entertained any suspicion of them; and they were therefore suffered to assume full empire over the mind of young Louis. At the commencement of this revolution, which secured the supreme authority to



Luynes, the court swarmed with intrigues. They were the way to fortune, but it was not attainable by every one. A person named Gignier, met with a disagreeable check in his career. He had imagined a pretended conspiracy, which he went to Luynes to disclose, in the hopes of obtaining a reward; but the affair being thoroughly examined, the deception was discovered. The intriguing courtier, when urged to tell the motive which had induced him to devise this falsehood, candidly replied, that, "seeing plots so much in fashion, he had forged one for his own advantage; but that it had unfortunately been attended with bad success." This was indeed the case with Gignier, for it cost him his head.

The queen mother, during her exile, retained the more partisans, as Luynes, by his power and riches, excited great jealousy. He supported his influence by espousing the daughter of a nobleman of the court; and he made his brothers contract marriages equally advantageous. The malcontents, however, liberated the queen from her imprisonment; and they found themselves sufficiently powerful to furnish her with an army, but Luynes, who was of a mild and engaging disposition, having entered into an accommodation with her, she returned to her son, and resumed her influence in the affairs of government. To put an end to these cabals, and afford occupation to Louis, who had too great a taste for war, Luynes,

though a friend to peace, gave the protestants some causes of discontent, which made them take up arms.

The young monarch entered with ardour into the new career which had been opened for him, and distinguished himself by his talents. Luynes obtained the sword of constable, without having any more legal title than Concini or Vitri had to the rank of marshal. To this dignity the constable added the seals; so that in him all the powers were united. He, however, did not long enjoy them. He died at the moment when, after being raised to the summit of honour and power, he was just about to be hurled from it.

Mary of Medici became mistress of the council by introducing into it Richelieu, bishop of Luçon, who had contributed to effect a reconciliation between Luynes and her son. This prelate, an Argus in politics, examined the conduct of his colleagues. Finding that they endeavoured to supplant him in the king's confidence, he suffered them to ruin each other; and when he saw them weakened, both in numbers and force, he banished them from the council; installed himself in their stead, and surrounded the basis of his power with a few props, which he could easily remove if hurtful to his interests. But a more laudable origin than those court stratagems is assigned to the ascendancy which he assumed. He secured the attachment of Louis XIII. it is said, by ef-

teem. He taught this prince, who possessed a sound judgment, a well connected system of government; directed his attention to wise measures, and made him acquainted with the means proper for accomplishing them. He explained to him their causes and motives, and what is still more important, he procured him success.

In this manner, he rendered the king master of the protestants in France, and destroyed the seeds of civil discord, by taking Rochelle. The astonished sea was confined by a dyke, and received a curb, such as it had never experienced since the time of Alexander. The English, who attempted to oppose his efforts, were recalled to their own island, by the troubles which he fomented in it. He conducted Louis to Italy; and made him be attended by victory in this country, which had been so barren of laurels to the French since the wars of Naples and Milan. In Flanders and Germany, the house of Austria, which had hitherto attacked, being now subdued, was forced to act on the defensive. Commerce flourished; the royal power assumed vigour, and made itself be respected; and the people were delivered from the tyranny of the nobility. The castles of the latter were demolished. The sciences, neglected during the tumult of the civil wars, were cultivated with success. Superb edifices served them as an asylum and sanctuary. In a word, France, which had become a mere skeleton, destitute of



men and money, recovered its strength and vigour.

It was now in the queen's power to enjoy at her son's court all these advantages, together with every pleasure that Richelieu was desirous of procuring her; but some persons, who were jealous of the influence of her old favourite, prejudiced her against him. They persuaded her that her commands, whether good or bad, ought to be servilely executed by a man, who was indebted to her for his power; and that the least opposition, though accompanied with all that respect which serves to soften a refusal, was an insult, and an act of ingratitude. Her flatterers repeatedly told her, that this colossus, whom she had raised, she had power to pull down. She flattered herself with the idea, and boasted of it. "The idol I have formed," said she, "I can destroy when I please." Mary entered into cabals and intrigues, and endeavoured to ruin the cardinal in the opinion of her son.

Richelieu, in danger of losing his whole credit and authority, no longer concealed his views. By that ascendancy which talents acquire over the weak, he assumed, after a short eclipse, more influence than ever over Louis, and commanded him to make such sacrifices as he thought necessary to maintain his own power. The queen mother was arrested; but, instead of yielding, and entering into an accommodation, she fled to Ger-

many. The cardinal thought she must languish there in poverty. Though the most humble supplications were made to him to permit her to return to France, he remained inexorable. She would die in exile and misery. The young queen, who had entered into the designs of her mother-in-law, would become suspected. Her husband would never behold her but with a look of the utmost coolness; and if she ever became a mother, it would be entirely owing to indifference, being taken by surprise.

Gaston, the king's brother, who behaved with too much civility to the minister's enemies, would, he thought, become a slave in the middle of the court; if he escaped from his fetters and took up arms, it would be the means of making him lose his credit, without resource, in the eyes of his brother. He would not get himself restored to favour, but by the mediation of the prelate. He must lay himself under obligations to his enemy. The Count de Soissons, a haughty prince, firm in his resolutions, and a dangerous adversary, would be driven to revolt. If successful, the consequences might be prevented by his death, the effect either of chance, or occasioned in the field of battle. Condé, alone, found means not only to preserve himself from disgrace, but to add to the authority and riches of his family, by alliances with the imperious cardinal.

In regard to the nobility, who were his opponents, or whom he judged to be such, none of them were spared. Puylaurent, the favourite of Gaston, to whom the prelate had given his niece in marriage, because suspected of being too little devoted to his uncle, was thrown into a prison, where he died. Montmorenci taken with arms in his hand, while supporting the cause of Gaston, was indeed culpable; but he had saved Richelieu's life at a moment when the poniard was lifted up against him. He was not able, however, to obtain a pardon, and died on the scaffold. Offences which scarcely deserved a fine, were employed as a pretence for the condemnation of the marshal de Marillac; but his real crime was, that, in an assembly of the prelate's enemies, when they were deliberating on the manner in which they should get rid of the minister, he gave it as his opinion that he ought to be brought to trial, under a persuasion that in such a high administration they might find breaches of duty sufficient to condemn him to death. Richelieu punished him by the law of retaliation.

In the last place, he eradicated from the breast of Louis all his affection and pity for young Cinqmars, his favourite; who was rather giddy than wicked. But he wished to be Richelieu's rival in power; and what greater crime could he commit? He was beheaded at the age of twenty-



two. His friend Dethou, against whom no crime was proved, experienced the like fate. The people did not hesitate to ascribe these executions to the cardinal; because immediately after his death, the king caused to be set at liberty all those unfortunate persons who were waiting for trial, and recalled all the exiles. a certain proof that it was the minister who had reigned till that period. Louis XIII. survived him only five months, and died at the age of forty-two. He has been surnamed the Just and the Severe. These two epithets may be united; but by rendering him responsible for the unmerciful harshness of his minister, it must be allowed that severity is more applicable to him than justice.

Louis XIV. was born after his mother had remained barren twenty-three years; for this reason, he was called the Gift of God. He was only five years of age when he succeeded his father. The queen was declared regent by the parliament; and, to the great astonishment of all France, Anne of Austria, so much harassed by cardinal Richelieu, chose as her minister cardinal Mazarine, the creature of her persecutor. A certain poet has compared the world to a dramatic entertainment. According to this idea, we shall find, during the reign of Louis XIII. the tragedy surrounded by catastrophes, and disgusting with blood. Under Mazarine, the play of the passions exhibited by the authors of the *fronde* was less

Louis XIV.  
1643.

violent. The greater part of the reign of Louis XIV. may be considered as a spectacle with grand machinery, calculated to excite astonishment. Towards the end we behold nothing but the wrecks of that theatrical majesty, and the illusion vanishes.

When the fear, inspired by the terrible Richelieu was at an end, and when the gloom diffused over the court by the serious Louis XIII. began to vanish, those persons who had suffered persecution on the queen's account, or who had shared in those which she herself experienced, returned filled with pretensions and hopes. They were called persons of consequence; because male and female imagined they had a right to interfere in the affairs of government, and that the utmost deference was due to their opinions. They openly assumed the power of granting protection and withdrawing favour. The queen, becoming tired of their importance, sent the ladies to their estates, and got rid of the men by a few months imprisonment.

Anne of Austria became incensed also at the remonstrances of the parliament, on account of some taxes. This assembly, proud of having disposed of the regency, considered as a serious engagement the compliment which the queen then paid to the chambers by saying, that she would be directed in her conduct by their counsels. These counsels being little regarded, they con-

verted them into decrees. The regent annulled them, and murmurs were the consequence. The people participated in the discontent of the magistrates, and shewed themselves disposed to support them. The duke of Anguien, a hero twenty-two years of age, crowned with laurels gathered at Rocroi, stepped forwards to reduce to obedience the intractable citizens. Intoxicated with pride, on account of their having been useful to the queen, the prince, with the young officers and lords by whom he was surrounded, assumed so haughty an air that they were called *petits-maitres*.

The queen was not only disgusted with their services, but she even punished their audacious presumption by disgrace. The firmness of the regent was ascribed to the councils of Mazarine. All the parties, sometimes united, and sometimes separated, declared against him. He became, as it were, the butt of all the different bodies of the malcontents. The faction which opposed him most was called *la fronde*: it was divided into the greater and less. All the cabals during this state of confusion, while they retained their names, often changed their interests; for there was a *fronde* also favourable to Mazarine.

During these domestic broils, war was carried on, with success on the frontiers, against the Spaniards. The young monarch, as he grew up, inspired hopes; and the interior part of the king-



dom, being pretty well governed, was in a state of tranquillity. Mazarine eluded, with great dexterity, the attacks of those by whom he was envied. There was only one with whom he could not make peace, nor enter into any accommodation, because the design of this rival was to supplant him, and to put himself in his place. Historians speak of the famous Gondi, coadjutor to his uncle, the bishop of Paris, afterwards cardinal de Retz. He was the life and soul of all the intrigues against Mazarine.

The latter, very inconsiderately, furnished his enemies with a pretence for their hostile intentions. He sent to Italy for his sister, his sister-in-law, and a whole troop of nieces. It was easily perceived that this family had been invited to France only that they might be enriched. They were represented, in pamphlets, as a burthen to the state, at a time when the court was demanding new taxes. The parliament refused to register the pecuniary edicts. The court persisted, and the parliament was obstinate. They declared the cardinal a disturber of the public peace, and an enemy to the state. The court quitted Paris, which was besieged.

A peace was, however, concluded. Condé and his brothers had been entrusted with the direction of the siege; but they rated too high the service they had rendered on that occasion. Mazarine caused them to be arrested, and the Pa-

Parisians were transported with joy when they saw prisoners those by whom they had been besieged. The *fronde*, in the mean time, resumed its force, and the cardinal was obliged to go himself and liberate those whom he had enchained, and to quit the kingdom. When the princes came back, Paris was illuminated. An accommodation permitted Mazarine to return; but he was again involved in difficulties. The court found itself in danger of being shut up in the capital by barricadoes. It saved itself by flight, and Mazarine, on whose head a price had been set, once more quitted the kingdom, to the great joy of the Parisians.

The court wandered about from province to province, collecting an army. Mazarine also sent from Germany a considerable body of troops. The parliament, in order to maintain its decrees against the prelate, made levies at the same time; so that four armies met under the walls of Paris. There was, however, only one battle, which proved fatal to Condé, the irreconcilable enemy of Mazarin. This prince was on the point of perishing, when the Parisians saved him, through pity, by admitting him within their walls; but he was obliged to leave the kingdom. Mazarine entered the city, triumphant over all the cabals, and was received by the Parisians with transports of joy. The parliament congratulated him in a body, and bestowed on him the most pompous

encomiums. Cardinal de Retz, being thrown into prison, effected his escape ; lost the bishopric of Paris, and retired to a small town in Lorraine, to linger out his days in obscurity. The life of Mazarine, after this period, was a continued scene of triumph, which he terminated with the treaty of the Pyrenees, in 1659, and before he died restored peace to Europe.

It is necessary to be a Frenchman, and to place one's self in that period, to conceive the enthusiasm of the nation, during these brilliant years of the reign of Louis XIV. This young prince, surrounded by the graces, served by the arts, and followed by victory, seemed formed to give laws to the universe. He obliged Spain to resign its precedence in favour of his ambassadors. Rome, having dared to resist his haughty pretensions, he subjected it to the most humiliating conditions. On a demand from him, equivalent to an order, the Corsican guards were disbanded ; and a column, raised in the palace of the Cæsars, attests the superiority of France. Louis communicated to Spain some claims, which were indeed frivolous ; but his armies, which followed in the train of his negotiators, shortened the discussion on them, and the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1668, legalised his pretensions.

Accustomed to conquer kings, he was incensed to find resistance in a republic. Holland, however, was punished for its audacity. It found it-



self on the brink of ruin ; but was supported by England. All Germany took up arms in its favour ; and Spain, so much humbled, made some efforts also. A league was formed by almost all Europe against an invading power, the object and boundaries of which were unknown. Louis XIV. resisted the combined force of all his enemies, and, in 1678, dictated the conditions of the peace of Nimeguen, still more brilliant, but less imperious than that of Aix-la-Chapelle. The armies which he kept on foot, either foreseeing or meditating a new war, enabled him to humble Algiers and Genoa. The former sent forth cries from below its ruins, and made intreaties which were not heard till it broke the chains of the French slaves, and promised to put no more of them in irons. The latter, already half demolished by bombs, did not suspend those about to destroy it entirely, but by sending its doge to Versailles, to make humble excuses.

The war being renewed, the Palatinate was laid waste. The flames in which that unhappy country was involved were a signal to unite all Europe against the French, whose name excited horror. Louis XIV. maintained his ground ; but he experienced some checks. His navy was destroyed at la Hogue ; the coasts were infested by the English, who made frequent descents, and their bombs, the use of which at sea they had been taught by the French, destroyed Havre, and re-

duced Dieppe to ashes. Victory, however, did not abandon Louis by land. Fleurus and Steinkerque, scenes of his triumphs, and Mons and Namur, trophies of his glory, still attested his superiority. But the numerous armies which he kept in the field depopulated the kingdom, and occasioned famine. Amidst the grandeur and the luxury of his court, Louis perceived the approach of scarcity. The people ceased to admire, and began to murmur; and this distressing situation compelled him to make sacrifices, in 1697.

These sacrifices were commanded by the necessity of preparing for the war of the Spanish succession. It was of little importance to the French, whether the throne was occupied by a Bourbon or not; but it pleased Louis XIV. and his council, instead of the pacific partition proposed, by adopting the will of Charles II. which gave Spain to the duke of Anjou, a fatal present, accompanied with depopulation, famine, and other scourges, which soon afflicted the kingdom. Germany and Flanders, formerly theatres of the triumphs of the French, became their grave. Tallard, with a great part of his troops, was made prisoner at Hochstet, in the same plains where Villars had driven the enemy before him; Villeroy lost a whole army at Ramillies, and the soil of Spain was drenched with the blood of Frenchmen. That no calamity might be wanting

to France, it was involved in the miseries of civil war. The protestants revolted, being incited to rebellion by the imprudence of Louis XIV. in revoking the wise edict of Nantes. He supported adversity with courage, and his firmness exhausted the obstinacy of his enemies, while his misfortunes disarmed their hatred. Villars, conqueror at Denain, caused the peace of Utrecht to be concluded, in 1713 and 1714. He himself with his worthy rival, prince Eugene, ensured at Rastadt the peace of Europe.

Reduced to the most cruel extremity; forced to abandon his grandson, and being almost compelled to the mortifying promise of furnishing money to dethrone him, he beheld the crown of Spain secured on the head of that prince. His own kingdom, divided by the conquests of his enemies, resumed its integrity, though feeble and exhausted. If Louis XIV. is justly reproached for his excessive ambition, which occasioned so many misfortunes to France; his passion for war, which occasioned the shedding of so much blood; his taste for luxury and building, which consumed so much money, extorted from the people by taxes; we cannot help esteeming those great qualities which distinguish him from other sovereigns.

The firmness of his government banished cabals from his court, and prevented them from re-appearing. He knew how to make a proper choice



of ministers, and to assign to each their proper functions. The sciences flourished during his reign, and no art was neglected. He paid attention to foreign as well as internal commerce, and to the establishment of useful means of communication by canals and highways. He created the military part of the navy; supported the colonies; constructed ports; fortified the frontiers; reformed the laws, and introduced a proper police. Under his reign poetry, as well as eloquence, both of the bar and the pulpit, was carried to perfection. He encouraged historical researches, and voyages tending to enlarge the sphere of our knowledge. Men, learned in every branch of science, assembled under his auspices in his palace, and he allowed them the most liberal support. In a word, during his reign France was enriched with master-pieces of every kind, and became to other nations a school of politeness, taste, and every useful or agreeable accomplishment.

Louis XIV. was one of the handsomest men in his kingdom. He was fond of women, and was beloved by them; but he did not pique himself much on his fidelity, even towards his most favourite mistresses. Mary Theresa of Austria, his spouse, deserved by her charms and her virtue to retain his affection. In depriving her of this just right, he took care to observe that respect which was calculated to make her feel

less pain from his inconstancy. He struggled against the parliaments, or rather he subjected them by terror; but they were like a spring which rises when it is no longer pressed down. By paying too much attention to religious quarrels, he rendered them more violent through his partiality. His reign was the longest of the French monarchy; and next to that of Charlemagne, the most glorious, if it did not equal or surpass it. He died at the age of seventy-seven.

It has been remarked, that the commencement of a reign is generally a contrast to, and as it were a censure on, the former. On the accession of Louis XV. Louis XV. 1715. customs, opinions, and political relations, were all changed. Not that the old ones displeased the king, for he was only in his sixth year, and consequently without any influence of moment, but because the supreme authority fell into the hands of the duke of Orleans, nephew of Louis XIV. who did not love him. The regent behaved to his uncle with the same indifference; and, therefore, he took a pleasure in changing every thing that the old monarch had done.

He gave a totally different turn to the court. Instead of that grave and austere appearance, which had prevailed in it, nothing was seen but levity and dissipation. Of the religious ceremonies, which had been scrupulously observed, no part remained but what could not be withdrawn

from the eye of the public. Louis XIV. never formed any connection with the English, but such as was indispensibly necessary. He considered them as the natural rivals of France, and therefore mistrusted them. The regent abandoned himself to them entirely, and suffered himself to be guided by their councils, in order to secure their protection in case the young king, whose health was in an uncertain state, should happen to die.

There can be no doubt that if this event had taken place, the regent intended to seat himself on the throne, to the exclusion of the Spanish branch; but it is calumny to say that he attempted to poison his pupil. Though not very delicate in his morals, and indifferent in his principles, Philip of Orleans was incapable of so black a crime. His not committing it when he had it in his power, is a proof that he never intended it. But it is not impossible that it may have been attempted by those worthless people by whom he was surrounded, such as a cardinal Dubois, and other infamous characters of the like kind, who might flatter themselves with hopes of becoming the despots of France, under a master who hated the restraint of labour. They knew by experience, that, though their superior in talents, he suffered himself to be ruled by them, that he might be able to devote more time to pleasure. He is not reproached for having enriched himself by the



system of bills, which deranged the whole kingdom. He considered it only as a measure calculated to ease the royal treasure, without reflecting, that he offered an unjust violence to the fortunes of individuals. He succeeded, almost in the same manner as a steward, who, in order to pay his master's debts, plunders and ruins the farmers. France long suffered from the state of weakness to which it had been reduced by this fatal measure.

Philip of Orleans died suddenly, and was succeeded by the duke of Bourbon Condé. This prince, like an avaricious individual, endeavoured to enrich himself by the ruins of the system. He did not possess that familiar ease, that kind of philanthropy and popularity, which had rendered the faults and failings of the regent supportable. The people murmured on account of his depredations. He, however, disregarded their complaints, as he believed himself sure of being supported by the king when he came of age, because he imagined he had rendered himself necessary to a prince whom he amused with pleasures; but Condé was the dupe of a youth of seventeen and an old man of sixty-three. Louis deprived his relation of his office, and dismissed him like a common domestic, without suffering him to come to an explanation; and he afterwards behaved in the same manner to all his other ministers. His preceptor Fleury assumed the place

of the disgraced prince, without any preliminaries, as if it had always belonged to him.

This cardinal has been justly considered as a privileged child of nature. "Till the age of seventy-three," says an historian, "he was accounted a man of the most amiable disposition, as well as a most agreeable companion; when he took into his hands the reins of government, at an age when so many men retire from the world, he was reckoned one of the wisest, and he retained, till he was near ninety, a sound and free judgment capable of conducting the public business." It appears that he made internal and external peace the system of his government; a laudable plan, because peace brings every advantage along with it; but those possessed of the best intentions, have not always in their power the means of carrying them into execution.

Being persuaded that the English alone were able to disturb that tranquillity which he wished to enjoy abroad, he shewed too much dread of giving them offence. Finding themselves respected, they became overbearing. Fleury carried his condescension so far, as to reduce the marine forces in obedience to their desires, sometimes imperious. The retrenchment of expences, which was the necessary result of this measure, enabled him, however, to gratify his natural turn for economy. He thus enjoyed peace in that quarter; but

when circumstances rendered war unavoidable, the ruinous state of the navy, which remained notwithstanding the new ships added to it, made it impossible for it to resist that of the English, which was in the best condition possible.

Fleury was deceived also in the hopes he had conceived of the efficacy of his measures for preserving internal peace, which was interrupted by the troubles of the church. A great part of the French clergy opposed the opinions which the minister wished to render prevalent. He attempted to subdue his adversaries by force; as if in matters of opinion, severity could be attended with effect. He employed exile, imprisonment, and proscription; and places were no longer conferred, but on those who subscribed to certain forms. As it was easier to shew that submission, than to study and regulate one's conduct, the young people chose the former. That external decency, which commands respect, gradually vanished; and the manners of the world were introduced into the cloisters. Deep and profound study was succeeded by vague knowledge, drawn from superficial abridgements, and dictionaries, which were multiplied without end. The cardinal suffered a great many bishops at court. Assemblies of the clergy afforded some of them an opportunity of shewing their talents for government and the administration of the finances. This gave rise to those who were afterwards called *admi-*



*nistrator bishops.* Religion, however, declined not under Fleury, who, by the power he enjoyed, repelled with success the attacks made on the safety of the sanctuary; but it is seen that by his ill-concerted measures, he contributed, though not wilfully, to deprive it of its best means of defence: learning, the regularity of its ministers, and the esteem of the people.

Some reflections, unfavourable to his foresight, might be made also on his conduct in regard to the parliaments: a conduct which is marked with the seal of his usual timidity. He suffered these bodies to give to their remonstrances, which indeed were often well founded, a dangerous publicity. It accustomed his people to examine the acts of government, and to shew less respect for its authority, the springs of which were unveiled by these writings, and which often lose their force when exposed to the eyes of the vulgar. Fleury, when he began his ministry, had given a high idea of his diplomatic knowledge, and address in negotiation, by the union of Lorraine to France, which had been attempted in vain for several centuries. He eluded, with the same art, various insinuations tending to promote war, which the minions of the court endeavoured to provoke by their intrigues; but he was not able at last to avoid this scourge, and France found itself engaged in hostile enterprises, which he condemned on his death-bed.

Louis XV. distinguished himself by a bravery which acquired him the esteem of the nation. Hitherto he had scarcely been known. After performing in Flanders military exploits, worthy of praise, he fell ill at Metz, while going in quest of the enemy, who had entered France on the side of Germany. It would be difficult to describe the consternation which filled the whole court on this event; and it would be still more difficult to express the transports of joy which burst forth, on all sides, on the news of his convalescence. "Such," says an historian, "are the people of France; possessing sensibility even to enthusiasm, and capable of every excess in their affections as well as in their hatred." General acclamation gave to Louis the title of the Well-beloved.

Louis XV. though exposed to great danger, survived, as he said, to govern by himself; but he only changed his ministers as he did his mistresses. During the principal part of his reign, it was neither talents nor success which placed them at the head of affairs, but their greater or less condescension for the taste of the monarch. The minister most capable, in his eyes, was he who removed from him every care and every uneasiness, and who enabled him to indulge his inclination for indolence and pleasure. He was acquainted, it is said, with the miseries of the people, was affected by them, and wished to apply

a remedy; but he imagined that he was not capable of doing it himself, and that he had not around him a sufficient number of honest men to attempt it. He was so unfortunate as not to believe in the existence of probity. Did he judge from his own conscience, or was it because he had been often deceived?

After a most voluptuous life, Louis XV. disgraced his old age by irregularities, of which even the lowest of the people are ashamed. He was afraid of business, and openly shewed his aversion to it. He was even soon tired of pleasures, if his taste for them was not stimulated by a variety difficult to be invented. Every thing not personal was to him, as it were, entirely foreign. He left to his grandson, who succeeded him, a court abandoned to the most destructive pomp, finances in disorder, and a kingdom internally agitated by secret discontents. The murmurings and general uneasiness of the people announced future storms; and the relaxed state of the bonds between the sovereign and his subjects gave reason to apprehend a total dissolution of the state. The monarch, it is said, foresaw these misfortunes, but instead of endeavouring to prevent them, apprehensive of trouble, and being entirely abandoned to enjoyment, he seemed to say to the revolution, Wait until I am no more.

This prince was a good master, but a bad husband and an indifferent father. He had some



religious principles, which were never effaced by his taste for pleasure, and the ascendancy that taste assumed over him. Louis XV. surrounded by the splendour of the sciences, rendered brilliant under Louis XIV. did not suffer himself to be dazzled by it. He encouraged them with discernment. Writers of all kinds, too numerous at that period, as they are at present, did not experience from him a very favourable reception. He afforded, however, the noblest protection to literary enterprises, and to other projects, when convinced of their utility. He carried on war at land with pretty good success; but by sea it was almost always attended with fatal consequences. The English, by means of their fleets, acquired an ascendancy in his reign, which was secured to them by treaties, extorted from the lassitude of the French monarch. Louis XV. died on the 10th of May, 1774, at the age of sixty-four. He had only one son, Louis, dauphin of France, who died before him, leaving three sons and a daughter.

Louis XVI. assumed the crown under the most unfortunate auspices. A fatal accident, which occasioned the death of a great number of persons, during a festival given on account of his marriage with Mary Antonietta, daughter of the empress queen of Hungary, had induced those fond of creating presages to form the most gloomy conjectures respecting his reign.

Louis XVI.  
1774.

He began it, however, by an instance of prudence capable of inspiring confidence, in opposition to prognostics. Being educated in absolute ignorance of public business, Louis, at the age of twenty-one, was sensible that he had need of a conductor in the labyrinth of government, which he was about to enter. Did he act properly? Did he do right to take, as Mentor, a man kept at a distance from state affairs, by being twenty-three years in disgrace? Had he not reason to apprehend, that an old man, softened by so long a repose, when he returned to that career, would think of enjoying in tranquillity the credit and honour of this new dignity, rather than of applying to that active labour, rendered necessary by the circumstances of the moment?

One of the greatest embarrassments of Louis XV. during his long reign, had been his continual struggle with the parliaments. They had often fatigued and harassed the monarch by pressing remonstrances; by cessations of service, and threatening coalitions. Louis retaliated by humbling them, annulling their decrees, and banishing them; and it may be said that they were still under the anathema when that prince died.

It might, perhaps, have been good policy to embrace that opportunity of curbing the authority of these assemblies, either by consolidating the changes which Louis XV. had introduced in their constitution, or by restoring to them their power,

with very great restrictions ; but the old minister thought it more convenient to re-establish them almost on their former footing, than to embarrass himself in a labyrinth of negotiations, which might have interrupted his tranquillity. Besides, it was agreeable to his character not to attach great importance even to affairs of the most serious nature. He freed himself, therefore, as soon as possible, from this cause of uneasiness ; and the recall of the parliament was one of the first measures of the reign of Louis XVI.

It pleased the people, and particularly those of Paris, who are very much attached to their magistrates. The prince had caused this favour to be preceded by an exemption from the duties of *joyeuse avènement*, by which he might have filled his coffers. This was his first edict. By a second, he enfranchised the serfs of the royal domains ; and, at the same time, abrogated that rigorous law, which rendered those subject to the *taille* bound for the payment of the whole tax ; suppressed the service of vassalage ; and abolished preparatory torture. These testimonies of benevolence, by which the monarch began his reign, gave the greatest hopes of a good government.

He resolved, also, to collect around him good ministers. Those whom he chose were generally honoured with the public esteem ; but some of them were what is called systematic men, well



known to be too fond of novelties. One of them made him enact some laws respecting the corn-trade, at a time not favourable to regulations of that nature. They gave rise to partial commotions, which were not indeed attended with serious consequences, but which accustomed the people to agitation. Another minister, by shewing the necessity of economy, made the monarch suppress a brilliant part of the military establishment of his household, without reflecting that he thereby suppressed that splendour which excites respect in the multitude, and which is sometimes necessary.

Louis XV. had strictly enforced the prohibition of books which attacked the established religion, and had even interdicted their authors from residing in his kingdom, though esteemed on account of other works, which have rendered them justly celebrated. Louis XVI. resolved to remove these decrees of proscription. The chief of these writers returned to France, where he was received with enthusiasm by many persons, who imagined they should acquire the reputation of being men of genius and wit, by professing his opinions.

They became the common subject of conversation. It was usual to discuss the rights of the people, according to the spirit of these works, the doctrines of which were far from being favourable to sovereigns; and the rebellion, in America, of a people who took up arms for liberty, and

whom we assisted, diffused, and gave force to republican principles, the cause of that war in which we participated.

The nation in this respect anticipated the king by its wishes, and by the intervention of individuals. The French youth, panting for glory, quitting the court and the army, repaired to America, to discipline and prepare for victory the American battalions. Merchants, attracted by the lure of gain, supplied them with ammunition and merchandise, which the rupture with the mother country rendered very profitable for those who carried them to the colonies. Those who reproach Louis XVI. for his too great indulgence, in regard to the military effervescence and mercantile avarice of his subjects, cannot, however, deny that the English, by continuing to harass the French, both secretly and openly in both the Indies, authorised the latter to make reprisals.

These provocations shewed, in both nations, 1773. an animosity which terminated in a declaration of war. It was carried on with this sole advantage to the French, that they deprived, as they imagined, their ancient rivals of a great part of their power, and procured a solid and lasting alliance with men rendered irreconcilable enemies to Great Britain. The result, on the side of the English, was the most violent resentment, and an ardent desire of being revenged for the injury attempted against them.

1783.

Louis XVI. was induced to submit to a disadvantageous peace, on account of the derangement of the public finances. He had received them in a bad state from his predecessor; and his first wish, on ascending the throne, had been to repair them. In his edict for the remission of the right of *joyous accession*, he expressed himself as follows: "Among the different expences with  
" which the public treasury is charged, there are  
" some necessary, and which must be reconciled  
" with the safety of our states; others, which  
" come under the head of donations, are susceptible, perhaps, of being moderated; but the  
" objects of them have acquired a right, in the  
" order of justice, by long possession. The suppression of these would afford but a partial economy. In the last place, there are some which  
" belong to our person, and the magnificence of  
" our court. In regard to these, we can follow  
" more speedily the dictates of our heart."

It is much to be wished that the monarch in this respect, had followed, as he said, the dictates of his own heart. Gradual reductions would have insensibly diminished the disproportion which then existed between the receipt and the expence; and might have made good the deficiency, which was the cause of his torment, and the source of all his misfortunes. But he found a court abandoned to the utmost extravagance; a prodigality of donations, pensions, and expences;



and luxury established as an appendage, absolutely necessary for the splendour of the throne. The example of his own moderation and personal simplicity introduced no reform; and he had not sufficient strength of mind to employ authority.

The ministers, who were successively charged with the management of the finances, all began to insinuate the necessity of these reforms, as the properest means for equalizing the receipt and the expenditure; but perceiving that this plan, which displeased the whole court, except the monarch, might occasion their disgrace, through the weakness of the prince, they had recourse to taxation, or to loans, which are only taxation in disguise. The fund of debt was therefore increased, by the arrears of the loans, which were not liquidated but by new ones.

To get out of this difficulty, it was suggested 1787. to the king that he ought to convoke an assembly of the notables. It was composed of princes, deputies chosen from the nobility, dignified clergy, the parliaments, and the *pays d'etat*. It was hoped that these men, opulent by their offices, pensions, and, above all, landed property, being more interested than others in relieving the public treasury, on which the security of all their different kinds of riches depended, would not hesitate to sacrifice privileges, of which the people, oppressed by these exemptions, had long complained. They proposed the establishment of a

land-tax, proportioned to the property of those liable to pay, without any exception in favour of the nobility or clergy. This proposal excited the most tumultuous noise, followed by a general refusal. The notables were then far from imagining that the refusal of a part might occasion the loss of the whole.

The assembly of the notables having been dissolved, without any success, the minister thought he could make a more advantageous bargain with the parliament. He presented edicts respecting the land-tax, and an augmentation of the stamp-duties, which the king caused to be registered in his presence. The parliament remonstrated, and publicly advanced the opinion, which has been attended with such important consequences, that the right of imposing new taxes belonged only to the states-general, the convocation of which they demanded.

1789.

This desire became the general wish of the nation, with which the king could not refuse to comply. He made a solemn promise to convoke the states. He assembled them, with a view of obtaining from the two first orders what the notables had refused. To compel them to this measure, he resolved, contrary to the opinion of a second assembly of the notables, to give to the *tiers-etat* a power capable of counterbalancing that of the other two orders, which it was hoped might be effected, by putting into the former class a

number of deputies equal to that of the two latter classes.

But as those had foreseen, who wished to weaken the two former orders, equality did not long subsist; and the *tiers-etat* acquired the ascendancy, because it was first augmented by the defection of the inferior clergy, who had not been treated with proper attention by the superior, and afterwards by many of the nobility of the provinces, men of talents; as well by those of the court, who were either ambitious or discontented. The states-general then assumed the name of the *national assembly*. This change of name was not a matter of indifference; because, knowing from history how far the rights of the states-general extended, they might have experienced obstacles in the innovations which they intended; whereas a *national assembly*, an institution entirely new, might invest itself, at pleasure, with whatever power it found necessary.

Its first labour was the formation of a new constitution, from which it was called the *constituent assembly*. This work was undertaken on a supposition, that an empire which had existed for eleven hundred years had no constitution. Several factions then arose in the assembly. Those who maintained the royal prerogative were called aristocrats, friends to the government of the great; those who wished to circumscribe it were called democrats, friends to the government of the peo-



ple. It was then also, that acts of violence were begun against the nobility: the burning of their palaces, insurrections in the towns and different parts of the country, with many other excesses, arising from the weakness of the government, and that of the prince, whose disposition was thus put to the test,

Nothing could be more singular of its kind, than the whole kingdom taking up arms in one day, and almost at the same moment. While the cannon were thundering against the Bastille, vagabonds ran through all the streets, and appeared in all the markets, calling out to arms; announced bands of banditti ready to spread universal devastation; and even before the eyes of the magistrates, who did not oppose them; before those of the troops, still faithful, who made no movement, the populace rose; formed bodies of murderers and assassins, and found chiefs to conduct them, who instigated them to the commission of every crime.

Many have endeavoured to discover the origin of these commotions, and how they were organised. They arose, as is believed, from a spirit of revenge, in the duke of Orleans, who was displeased with the court; the malicious pleasure which he took in throwing it into embarrassment, and perhaps the hopes he had conceived of expelling from the throne his relation, by whom it was occupied, and of establishing himself in his

room. It is said, that he devoted to the accomplishment of this project the greater part of his property, which was immense. It is even suspected that he was assisted by British money, to pay the populace; and this suspicion becomes a certainty, when it is recollected that, at the commencement of our troubles, Pitt demanded from the parliament a million sterling, under the head of money for secret service.

This circumstance reminds us of an anecdote of Themistocles. He asked one day from the Athenians a considerable sum, for a very advantageous expedition, but which would fail, if the object of it were disclosed. The Athenians replied, that they would not refuse the money, provided it were just; and they referred Themistocles to Aristides, to determine respecting its equity. Aristides, after having heard the plan, appeared before the people, and said: "What Themistocles proposes may be useful, but it is unjust." The money was, therefore, unanimously refused. The British parliament had not the same delicacy. But is the nation, hurried into a war disastrous for all Europe, any happier by our troubles?

After the taking of the Bastille, an event accompanied with cruelties, which the people, a few months before, would not have believed themselves capable of committing, an armed multitude proceeded to Versailles, with a view of bringing the king to Paris, and of detaining him

there as a safe-guard, against the hostile enterprises, with which, they said, the capital was threatened. Louis, supported by a good conscience, entrusted himself to the people, notwithstanding the fears of his family, openly expressed; was well received, and heard, for the last time, the cry of joy among the French; shouts of *vive le roi* resounding in his ears.

The king, in a royal sitting, had passed an edict, from which he expected the greatest success, because he had limited by it, in particular, the rights hitherto exercised by the crown in regard to taxes, and engaged to assemble the states at fixed periods. He, however, found, with great sorrow, that this mode of reconciliation was rejected; and foresaw evils still more alarming, which did not fail soon to take place. As his brothers were publicly attacked in different writings, the depositaries of public opinion, he permitted them to leave France. Their departure was followed by that of the nobility and magistrates, who were suspected, or who believed themselves to be in that state; and thus began emigration, which became the mode.

The grand work of the constitution was continued. Each article presented to the monarch for approbation, gave him the utmost pain. He hesitated and deferred, or refused his sanction. The chiefs of the faction beheld, with great uneasiness, his stay at Versailles, from which he might easily



escape, retire to the provinces, and having assembled an army, return and dissolve the states. This design was ascribed to him; and it was therefore resolved to confine him in Paris.

His guards, during a fête, considered as a secret conspiracy, indulged perhaps imprudently in public protestations of attachment and fidelity, which were represented as an engagement entered into against the assembly. An order given to some regiments to repair to Versailles excited alarm. A band of furious desperadoes, brandishing arms of every sort, issued from the capital, and hurrying along the road leading to the palace, announced their arrival by clamour and tumultuous shouts. They attacked the palace; dispersed themselves throughout the apartments, and massacred the guards who attempted to defend the doors. The assembly having struggled for several days against the monarch, in order to obtain his sanction to certain articles, at length extorted it from him, while under the sword of executioners, who were butchering his guards; and, at the same time, they obliged him to consent to his being removed to Paris, with his family. He set out for the capital, accompanied by that horrid escort, and made his entrance into the city, under an arch of pikes, forks, and every instrument of death, which rage can invent. He was, however, very well received at the *Hotel de Ville*; and conducted with every testimony of affection,

and even of pity, to the Thuilleries, where he fixed his residence along with his family. The assembly soon repaired thither also.

A few days after, the destruction of the nobility was completed by the abolition of all titles, privileges, and distinctions of rank; and the ruin of the clergy, by the declaration that their property was placed at the disposal of the nation. It was assigned as security for a kind of paper money, called *assignats*, which were publicly circulated in profusion, and which were the principal instruments of the revolution.

The royal pomp, with which the palace of the Thuilleries was surrounded, did not banish the suspicion and gloomy cares which haunted the prince by whom it was inhabited. Every day brought him new causes of uneasiness, the chief of which arose from the emigrants and the foreign war. The emigrants had dispersed themselves among all the courts of Europe, where they employed every art to induce them to arm against France. Their efforts were accompanied with threats against the rebels, who, they said, kept the king in a state of imprisonment. Their intreaties, and the hopes of easy success, which they held forth, induced several powers to coalesce, in order to invade France. It appears, that the object of these leagues was rather to form a partition of the kingdom, which they thought defenceless, than to assist the confined monarch. The ef-

fect of their false measures, however, rebounded on the unfortunate prince. Some imputed to him, as a crime, the bravadoes of the emigrants, who, as they said, acted only by his orders; and though it appears that Louis was sincere in his desire of avoiding a foreign war, they persuaded the people that the enemy had entered France at his desire, or at least with his consent. Their first success incensed the French, and the necessity the latter were under of defending themselves, inspired them with an energy, which produced astonishing victories. These victories gave irresistible strength to the faction hostile to the throne, and it was these also, perhaps, that emboldened the chiefs to commit excesses, which they would not otherwise have attempted.

The concessions which they demanded from the king, and those still more disagreeable which he foresaw, made him resolve to avoid them by flight. After several fruitless attempts, he at last succeeded. His design was to reach some frontier town; where he, no doubt, proposed to collect an army, in order that he might return with it to the capital to dissolve the assembly, and to recover the authority he had been compelled to resign. He was, however, arrested by the way; brought back with ignominy, and avoided sentence of abdication, which was going to be pronounced against him, only by accepting the constitution, and ratifying it, before the deputies of all France, 1791.



who were present at this august ceremony. This was the last operation of the constituent assembly, which was succeeded by the legislative on the first of October. The king was as much embarrassed with the latter as he had been by the former. The first had given him great uneasiness in framing the constitution; and the second put him to no less pain by carrying it into execution.

1792.

Societies, called clubs, composed chiefly of the deputies of the *tiers etat*, had been formed at the opening of the states. They met in order to submit to previous discussion the measures which were to be proposed in the assembly. These societies were continued at Paris after the assembly had been transferred thither. The deputies, of whom they were at first exclusively composed, opened them to a multitude of those intriguing characters, who wish to make themselves known during revolutions. That of the jacobins, so called from the name of the place where the members assembled, insensibly absorbed all the rest. By the number, enthusiasm, and sometimes the talents of the members, and by the union of clubs, created after this model, throughout all the provinces, the mother society became so powerful, that it prescribed to the assembly certain laws, from which it durst not deviate.

Hence arose that torpor which disgraced the legislative assembly, by making it suffer, before its eyes, scenes of assassination, prolonged for three

days in the prisons; the massacre of the unfortunate victims brought from Orleans. whom it had taken under its protection, and all the atrocities committed, in various places, by the different orders of the Jacobins, known under the names of the *noyades*, *fusillades*, and *mitrailleurs*, which express too plainly, the kind of death they inflicted on a multitude of unhappy objects. The guillotine, that instrument of destruction, invented to shorten the punishment, was not expeditious enough to satiate the thirst of these men, who panted after blood.

Among these, none distinguished themselves so much as those called *sans-culottes*, the dregs of the people, who prided themselves in the rags of wretchedness, and that name of contempt; as the Dutch did in the appellation of *gueux*, at the commencement of their revolution. The *gueux* wore on their heads a brown cap: the *sans-culottes* thrust theirs into a red one, which became the distinguishing badge of warm patriots. It was dangerous not to hoist this sign of patriotism, as well as not to imitate the dirty appearance and vulgar language of these zealous demagogues.

Their hatred for every thing superior to their knowledge and habits was manifested by ravage, which will long preserve the remembrance of their fury. Repositories of science and the arts; monuments of taste and magnificence, consecrated by religious respect, filial love, and even the suf-

frages of the nation, all fell a sacrifice to their barbarous devastation. Ignorant bands of fanatics, armed with swords, hatchets, and firebrands, dispersed themselves throughout the whole kingdom; and pulled down, destroyed, or burnt every thing which they thought represented and capable of perpetuating the insignia of the nobility and the clergy, whom they wished to annihilate. Though the capital may be indemnified for these losses, by the riches collected in the conquered countries, and conveyed to its bosom, the ravaged provinces will long regret the master-pieces which decorated their houses, their walks, their public places, and their temples, all equally laid waste.

These horrors were committed, as already said, before the eyes, and during the stupor of the legislative assembly. The jacobins caused the assembly to request the royal sanction to the decrees past against the emigrants and the priests called refractory, because they refused to take an oath repugnant to their conscience; but the king declared that these decrees extended beyond the boundaries of the law, within which he was desirous of confining himself.

June 21st.

Being resolved to extort by violence, what they were not able to obtain voluntarily, the jacobins, in conjunction with the municipality of Paris, by whom they were supported, collected the most turbulent of the populace in the suburbs, intermixed with women, the dregs of the markets, and



the outcasts of society. They were armed with scythes, axes, and pitchforks. Twelve pieces of cannon were dragged along in the middle of this body, who with cries and shouts marched towards the Thuilleries. This commotion was unexpected. The king caused the gates to be opened. They insolently demanded from him a sanction, which he refused with affability. His reasons, which he explained with mildness and good-nature, allayed their fury; and he calmed them entirely by accepting the red cap, which they presented to him: though they had arrived with the most menacing intentions, they retired appeased, and almost repenting.

If the leaders, or *meneurs*, as they were called, Aug. 10th. had a design of forcing the king to commit any violence, which they might have imputed to him as a crime, they were deceived in the result; but they did not fail soon after to obtain complete success. The fault in their fruitless enterprise was, that they did not place at the head of the populace a body of regular troops, who might have inspired boldness into this undisciplined mob, and who might have stood the first fire, had they proceeded to that extremity. This fault they amended in another expedition, fixed for the 10th of August, a fatal day, which was to decide on the fall of the throne, and consequently the life of the monarch.

There had been formed in the south of France phalanxes, composed of men accustomed to murder and robbery, but intrepid soldiers, known under the name of the Marseillaise. These were invited to Paris, to form the advanced guard in the attack proposed to be made on the palace of the Thuilleries. The court was informed of the plan, and had collected around it companies of Swiss, whose ranks were swelled by many military officers of noble birth, and others who had assembled for that decisive moment.

The king made his appearance at five in the morning; reviewed the Swiss, and assigned them their different posts, while the national guards, both infantry and cavalry, lined the palace and its avenues, uncertain in what manner they should act. It is even said, that the greater part of them were inclined to support the king. It is certain, that if this multitude meant to attack the palace, it was the height of temerity to pretend to resist. Remonstrances on this subject were made to his majesty; he paid attention to them, and without making any attempt to sound the disposition of the populace, retired to the assembly.

As if his presence had been a bulwark against the fury of the people, scarcely had he disappeared, when the fire of the musketry and cannon began, in a manner very unequal on the part of the unfortunate Swiss. Being without or-

ders, and without officers, they fell back into the apartments; were pursued amidst carnage, fled and threw down their arms; and though they called out for quarter, were inhumanly massacred by the ferocious populace, who shared among themselves, and bore in triumph their still palpitating members.

At first, the king and his family embarrassed the assembly, who remained some moments silent; but they were ordered to retire, that the members might deliberate; and this day produced that famous decree, the two first articles of which were as follow: 1. "The French people are invited to form a national convention. 2. The chief of the executive power is provisionally suspended from his functions, until the national convention shall have decided on the measures it may think necessary to be adopted, in order to secure the sovereignty of the people, the reign of liberty and equality." These were followed by some police laws respecting the exercise of government, during the suspension. It was enacted also, that the king and his family should reside in the palace of Luxemburg; but, on a representation from the municipality, charged with the care of guarding them, that the avenues to that palace were too numerous for them to be answerable for such a trust, they were confined in the towers of the temple.



After that moment, events succeeded each other with such rapidity that the narrative of the historian can hardly keep pace with them. The convention decreed, on the 10th of August, had met, and was ready to proceed to business, on the 21st of September. In the first sitting, it abolished royalty and proclaimed the republic. On the 6th of September, it was decided that the king should be brought to trial. On the eleventh he was conveyed to the bar; and, though he had no previous intimation of the charges against him, he replied with a great deal of clearness and precision, and, above all, with much composure and coolness. On the 26th of the same month, after his council had finished his defence, the greater part of the members seemed inclined to suspend judgment, and to decree that it would be sufficient to take measures of precaution, until the nation had expressed its will, in regard to the fate of Louis. The most furious of the jacobins, however, rushed forwards to the bar, and making use of threats, and even violence, caused the assembly to determine that the sentence should be definitively passed without farther delay.

1793.

On the 20th of January, Louis was condemned to death, by a very small majority. By the medium of his council, he made an appeal to the people; but the convention declared it null, and ordered the sentence to be carried into execution.

On the 21st of January, that fatal day, after enjoying a night's repose which did not seem to have been interrupted by any uneasiness, the king, to whom the sentence had been communicated the evening before, rose at six o'clock, heard mass, partook of the communion, charged his valet-de-chambre to convey his last respects to his wife and his children, proceeded, with a composed look, occupied with his private devotions, from his prison to the place of punishment, and mounted the scaffold, in the presence of an immense concourse of people, and a formidable guard destined to suppress any movement that might be made in his favor. He advanced to the edge of the scaffold, and attempted to speak, but his voice was drowned by the noise of drums. He then turned round, resigned himself into the hands of the executioners, his head dropped, and the croud dispersed in silence.

Louis XVI. was thirty-eight years of age, and had reigned eighteen. Posterity will not judge of his character from the testimony of those publications, which are the offspring of faction, during times of revolution. It will not confirm those odious names which were lavished upon him by these writings. He was of a mild, humane disposition, and had a sincere desire to promote the happiness of his people. Those who accosted him unexpectedly found him sometimes blunt and austere. He was a good husband, a tender

father, and an excellent master ; but, in general, he was more esteemed than beloved in his court. Louis XVI. possessed knowledge and was fond of reading. With a great deal of good sense, he was observed, on certain important occasions, to be timid and irresolute. If he had that courage which arises from reflection, he wanted that intrepid courage which pleases the French. In him ended the third dynasty of the kings of France, and with him the monarchy, the origin of which can be traced back to 481, and which had consequently lasted about eleven centuries,

### ITALY.

Italy, between the Alps, Switzerland, Germany, the Gulph of Venice, and Sicily.

ITALY, divided in the most remote ages into different states, the origin of which is unknown, and united by the Romans into one empire, was after their downfall partitioned by the Greek emperors, the Lombards, the Franks, and other nations, till the period of Charlemagne. This prince, like the Romans, collected, under one sceptre, these disjointed parts, and, after their example, formed of them one whole, which he transmitted to his descendants. The weakness of these princes matured the seeds of dissolution, which produced principalities, kingdoms, and republics, as happened to the world when it emerged from chaos. If we can believe some



philosophers, it was a shock of the elements, which, after confusion, put every thing in its place. The case was the same in Italy: all right was confounded by the struggle of different powers. Each, as it was more or less strong or dexterous, rendered itself more or less independent. They all composed an association, under a chief, whom they decorated with the title of emperor; but to whom they left, each of them, as far as they were able, a precarious and very limited authority.

Charlemagne caused his eldest son, Pepin, to be acknowledged king of Italy, in 787; and, after his death, Bernard, who was Pepin's son. This prince, as the son of the eldest, aspired at the imperial crown, on the death of his grandfather. Louis the Debonnaire, who possessed it by the will of his father, overcame his nephew and put out his eyes. He associated with him in the empire, during his life-time, his eldest son, Lothaire, who got himself crowned at Rome. The popes, though already rich and powerful by donations, exercised neither in Rome nor in their own possessions the right of sovereignty. It was necessary that their election should be confirmed by the emperor. The person even of the pontiff was subject to his police. Leo III. Sergius, and Leo IV. pleaded before his officers, when accused of crimes and usurpation.

Lothaire caused his son Louis to be crowned king of Lombardy in 844. At that period, the Saracens, who had come from Spain, through the Alps, were plundering Italy. Louis had the title of emperor. When he died, as he left no male children, his two nephews, Louis, king of Germany, and Charles the Bald, king of France, disputed for this title. The latter obtained it by the protection of Gregory IV. The pontiff being solicited by the Italian nobility to join with them for the election of an emperor, to be chosen by them in common, and from their own country, wished, if he was to have a master, that he might be a distant prince, and made them turn their attention to the king of France. As a reward for his interested friendship, he obtained from Charles, when he crowned him, in 876, some rights in Rome, which approached near to sovereignty, but which were not entirely free from shackles; since there remained a senate and tribunals dependant on the emperor.

The supreme authority in Italy was disputed with Charles the Bald, notwithstanding his title, by his cousin, Carloman, king of Bavaria, brother of Louis the Germanic. During an interregnum, occasioned by the death of the two competitors, many of the nobility, finding themselves without a master, made themselves independent in their governments, which they main-

tained by the assistance of the Saracens, with whom the greater part of them formed an alliance, in order to resist Charles the Fat, heir of Louis the Germanic, his uncle, and of Carloman, his father. Being thus called to the throne of France, this prince united, under his sceptre, all the states of Charlemagne, and lost them by his incapacity about 688. With him ceased the power of the male line of Charlemagne in Italy.

The Italians have had among them two princes descended from Charlemagne, by the female line: Guy, duke of Spoleto, and Berenger, duke of Friuli. It is hardly possible to find a life more exposed to disappointment than that of the latter. Berenger, at first, was acknowledged king of Italy alone, as his competitor, Guy, according to an agreement made between them, was, by his assistance, to obtain the crown of France. As Guy did not succeed, he returned to attack Berenger; dethroned him, was crowned by Stephen V. and, to support himself against Berenger, who did not abandon his party, he called in to his assistance Arnould, king of Germany, and died in the course of his success. Arnould, from being an auxiliary, became a competitor of Berenger, and caused himself to be consecrated emperor; but, having fallen sick, he returned to Germany, and this desertion gave Berenger the advantage. As he thus obtained the superiority, the Italian lords, who had abandoned him, fear-



ing lest they should be punished, opposed to him Louis, king of Arles, who expelled Berenger from Italy. The latter, never despairing of success, returned, and having beat his rival, caused his eyes to be put out. This is the only act of cruelty with which he can be reproached. He was at last crowned emperor in 916. The Italian lords, however, raised up a new enemy against him in the person of Rodolphus, king of Burgundy. He defeated Berenger, who avenged himself in his turn. After so many vicissitudes, he was at last on the point of getting rid of his competitor for ever, and of enjoying some repose; but was assassinated by an infamous wretch, whom he had pardoned after the commission of some crime.

Italy revolted against Rodolphus, and called in Hugh, count of Provence. The Burgundian and the Provencial, however, entered into an accommodation, and Italy remained in the hands of the latter, notwithstanding an irruption made by Arnould, duke of Bavaria, who was once more invited to assist the discontented Italian nobility. Berenger, grandson of the emperor of the same name, entered the lists also. Hugh attempted to get him assassinated. Berenger escaped the plots formed against him; but not the fate of arms, which was unfavourable to his designs. Having sustained a defeat, he escaped to the court of Otho, king of Germany, surnamed the Great,

who was his relation. With a few troops, supplied to him by Otho, he returned to Italy, upon which Hugh quitted it, and retired to his own province. He left a son, named Lothaire II. on whom the Italians conferred the crown. This prince lived only two years. Some pretend that Berenger got him dispatched by poison. In order that he might unite every right in his favour, he attempted to force Adelaide, the widow of Lothaire, to give her hand to his son Adalbert. The princess refused, and being thrown into prison, escaped to the court of Otho the Great. This prince made her espouse his son, whom he declared king of Italy, with the consent, partly voluntary, and partly forced, of Berenger, who assisted at the coronation. This unfortunate country was at that time plundered by the Hungarians, and a prey to all the devastation of civil war, occasioned by the contest of these different competitors.

### ECCLESIASTICAL ROME.

WHEN Otho brought the empire of Italy under the dominion of the house of Saxony, at the end of the tenth century, there were at Rome two very distinct governments: that of the emperors, which was tottering, and that of the popes, which was acquiring more strength. It is after

this period, that we ought to consider the latter as really temporal princes and sovereigns of Rome, substituted in the place of the exarchs of Ravenna, who were governors under the Greek emperors, and to that of the Lombard kings. It is after this period also, that we shall begin to mark the chronological order of the sovereign pontiffs, who were often embroiled with the anti-popes.

Otho, at his coronation, gave noble domains as a present to pope John VII. It appears, that he acted as a lord paramount, but without infringing the sovereignty of the vassal; for he retained the right of approving the election of the popes, and of correcting the disorders which might arise in Rome, if neglected by the pontiff. The necessity of this superintendence had been often felt after the time of Charlemagne and Louis the Debonnaire, the first benefactors of the Romish church. With some popes every vice had been seated on the pontifical throne. Children bore the tiara, and women of no character exercised the supreme authority under indolent or debauched popes; but there were also some popes, whose virtues consoled the church, and procured respect to the temporal authority they enjoyed.

John XIII.

955.

Leo VIII.

965.

Benedict

VI. 965.

Benedict

VII. 975.

John XIII. is reproached on account of several irregularities, the punishment of which he endeavoured to avoid, by revolting against Otho. The emperor caused him to be deposed, and Leo VIII. to be substituted in his stead; but John



was re-established by his partisans, during a journey which Otho undertook into Germany. The restored pope happening to die, his place was supplied by Benedict VI. When Otho returned, he re-instated Leo. At his death, John XIV. a man of great pride and haughtiness, was elected. The Romans revolted against him, but he was supported by Otho. His successor, Benedict VII. was confined in the castle of St. Angelo, and strangled by a faction, who pretended to revive the ancient republic. The contrary party elected an anti-pope, who finding himself incapable to maintain his ground against John XIV. opposed to him, plundered what he could from the treasures of the church, and escaped to Constantinople. With these riches, he procured friends, who enabled him to return more powerful to Rome. John XIV. was then dead. Boniface caused John XV. who succeeded him, to be confined in prison, where he was starved to death. During these changes, the imperial throne had also changed its possessor. From Otho I. the crown had passed to his son, Otho II. and to Otho III. his grandson.

Gregory V. elected after John XV. was a man of a haughty and obdurate disposition. He was opposed by an anti-pope, who is sometimes cited as the true pope, under the name of John XVI. which occasions great confusion in the series of the Johns who follow. Gregory was succeeded

John XIV.  
983.  
John XV.  
984.  
John XVI.  
985.

Gregory V.  
996.  
Sylvester II.  
999.  
John XVII.  
1003.  
Sergius IV.  
1009.  
Bened. VIII.  
1012.

by Sylvester II. Otho III. a very devout prince, died under his pontificate. He signed himself, *The servant of the apostles*. From this title, which his humility induced him to assume, the Romans concluded that an emperor was only the patron or protector of the church of Rome. The popes always maintained this pretension. Benedict VIII. the fifth successor of Sylvester, after two Johns and a Sergius, found this opinion so well established that he made Henry, the successor and a relation of Otho, readily swear, when he crowned him, that he would be the defender and patron of the court of Rome, and remain faithful to the pope and his successors. The reader will not be astonished to find that this Henry, called the *Lame*, has been inscribed in the catalogue of the saints.

John XIX.  
1024.

The pope and the emperor both died almost at the same time. The former was succeeded by John XIX. The Italians, who longed to shake off the German yoke, could not agree respecting an emperor of their own country, and submitted to Conrade II. called the *Germanic*, of the house of Franconia, which has furnished four emperors. They were continued to be called *Roman emperors*, though they possessed nothing at Rome but the right of receiving the crown in that city. John XIX. placed it on the head of Conrade. This prince made several journies to Italy; but he never appeared there except at the head of an

army; and in this he was imitated by his successors, which seems to shew that the Italians were not much inclined to voluntary submission.

Henry III. called the Black, was obliged, like his father Conrade, to procure obedience by force. During his reign there was a confusion of popes, who either retired of themselves or were deposed. The church of Rome was indemnified by the virtues of Leo IX. for the shame to which it was exposed by the irregularities of several others. He made a tour to Germany, with a view of obtaining aid against the Normans, who infested Italy. He brought back an ill disciplined army, which was beat by the Normans. In his route, being repulsed from a town in which he wished to take shelter, he abandoned himself to the conquerors. They received him and treated him with respect. The able pontiff found means to make them consider peace, of which they had both equal need, as an act of beneficence. He added to it the favour of receiving them among the number of the vassals of St. Peter, and of erecting into a fief, dependant on the church of Rome, every thing they possessed, and all the conquests they might make, in Calabria and Sicily.

There was a steward of the church, named Hildebrand, a man of great talents, obstinate in his enterprizes, and artful in the means of accomplishing them. He had been sent on a legation to Germany, and had conciliated the es-

Benedict IX.  
1033.  
Gregory VI.  
1044.  
Clement II.  
1046.  
Damascus II.  
1048.  
Leo IX. St.  
1048.

Victor II.  
1055.  
Stephen IX.  
1057.  
Nicholas I.  
1058.  
Alexand. II.  
1061.



teem of the imperial court. Not finding a moment favourable for placing himself in the chair of St. Peter, after the death of St. Leo, he had raised to it in succession several pontiffs: Victor II. Stephen IX. and Nicholas II. On the death of the latter, when his successor Alexander II. was installed, Hildebrand, who knew the weakness of the emperor's council, wished that the consent of that prince might be dispensed with; but the elected candidate, being afraid of endangering his right, did not think proper to deviate from the usual formality. Alexander, at the request of Hildebrand, now become a cardinal, in consequence of his private views, enacted by a bull, "that no bishops, of any church whatever, were legitimate unless established by the authority of the pope, and that those raised to that dignity only by the election of the clergy and the people, even if they had the consent of princes, were not legitimate bishops." The object of this statute was, no doubt, a useful one. It was too evident that the suffrages of the clergy and the people, as well as the consent of princes, was purchased; and that consequently almost all the elections were simoniacal. The approbation of the pope, preceded by examination, seemed the properest means for preventing or destroying these abuses.

Gregory

VII. 1072.

Hildebrand, after he became pope under the name of Gregory VII. did not fail to take advan-

tage of this pious motive, when he undertook to cause the above statute to be carried into execution. In regard, however, to his own election, he submitted to the ancient formality, and made it be approved by the emperor. The ministers of Henry IV. as they were well acquainted with the enterprising character of the pope who had been elected, advised him, on account of some irregularities in the election, to refuse his consent; but Henry being a young man of an easy disposition, and not very provident, suffered himself to be overcome by the apparent resignation of the pontiff to whatever it should please the emperor to order, and confirmed the election. Gregory no sooner found himself fully installed, than he gave loose reins to his immense pretensions. It may be said, without fear of exaggeration, that they extended to no less than to concentrate, in the sovereign pontificate, universal monarchy.

We are told, however, by some historians, that these extensive views were not so much the effect of ambition, as of an ardent desire to purify the church from the vices with which he knew it to be infected. It is said that he was the son of a carpenter in a small town of Tuscany, and that his figure and appearance were far from being agreeable. Some ascribe to him the most rigid manners, while others suspect that he relaxed a little of his austerity when in company with the

countess Matilda. He had been educated in the most regular monastic discipline, and acquired celebrity by his studies. Some ecclesiastical historians pretend, that, had the prejudices of the times permitted him to distinguish the temporal from the spiritual power, he would have saved Europe from the scourge of those wars which inundated it with blood, by the right he assumed, and which he made his successors assume, of deposing princes refractory to their orders, and of freeing their subjects from the oath of fidelity. In Gregory VII. began what may be called the filiation of the despotic power of the popes. It was increased by the ill concerted resistance of princes; confirmed by the crusades, and strengthened even by heresies, until they entirely crushed it.

Gregory sent to Spain a legate, who was commissioned not only to reform abuses, but to demand also that all the countries conquered from the Moors should be held as fiefs of the church of Rome, because before the invasion of these infidels, Spain had rendered itself tributary to the church. As a prince undertakes a tour through his possessions, to make himself be acknowledged by his vassals, Gregory went from one place to another, through all Italy, and he every where marked out his jurisdiction. At Benevento and Capua, he required that the princes should do him homage, and engage to



assist him against all those who should attack the regalities of St. Peter. Hildebrand, like a new apostle, took upon him the care of all the churches, comprehending those of France, Sardinia, Lombardy, Denmark, Hungary, and Russia. The letters which he sent to them, recommending a reformation of manners, and the abolition of Simony, always mentioned pecuniary dues to the apostolic chair; vassalage, and rights founded sometimes on the voluntary engagement of princes for the remission of their sins, and sometimes on their having obtained leave to make conquests, only on condition of homage. He caused these pretensions to be confirmed by councils held both in Italy and Germany.

The latter country suffered very much from the quarrels between Gregory VII. and Henry IV. who gave each other a great deal of uneasiness. They attacked each other's honour, dignity, and power; defamed and abused each other, and both died wanderers and proscribed; the emperor at Liege, supplanted by his son, and the pope at Viterbo, after having been expelled by the Romans. The principal cause of their animosity was the right of investiture, that is, the right of putting prelates in possession of their temporalities. This was done by a ceremony, in which the emperor gave to prelates, abbots, or bishops, the crozier and ring, while they did homage for the lands attached to their prelacies. The pope pre-

tended that this, on the part of the emperor, was arrogating a spiritual power, and what is called putting one's hand to the censor; that is, encroaching on the authority of the church. The emperor maintained that he only granted the use of a temporal possession, without in the least encroaching on these two points. Gregory and Henry caused oceans of blood to be shed; Germany and Italy experienced all the horrors of a long war for these opinions; relations attacked relations with fury; the son was excited against the father, and discord, armed with the torch of fanaticism, spread devouring flames every where around her.

Gregory VII. was powerfully seconded, in his efforts against Henry, by the countess Matilda. This princess possessed almost all the centre of Italy. Out of respect for Hildebrand, she gave a great part of her territories to the church of Rome, and made over to it the rest, to the prejudice of the empire, to which its fiefs ought to have devolved after her death. To suppose in Matilda, when she made this donation, as some historians have done, any other weakness than mental weakness, would be shewing little knowledge of the ascendancy which a director may assume over his penitent.

Victor III.  
1086.  
Urban II.  
1088.  
Pascal II.  
1092.

Victor and Urban, the successors of Gregory, continued the quarrel respecting investiture, in opposition to Henry V. who after having been the

instrument of the persecution to which these popes exposed his father, did not behave with more complaisance towards them than he did. Pascal divided the difference. It was agreed between the emperor and the pontiff, that the prince should no longer give the crozier and the ring, which might be considered as the badges of spiritual authority, but that the prelates should do homage for their lands. This accommodation did not please the cardinals and other Italian prelates. When Henry came to Rome to get himself confirmed, there was a combat even in the church of St. Peter, where he had ventured to appear without sufficient precautions; but as he had a good army without, he imposed laws on those who wished to prevent the pope from ratifying the treaty. Pascal discharged his obligation, and crowned Henry.

When the emperor departed, the pope was cited before a council, assembled in the church of the Latran, in 1112. He there declared, either voluntarily or through force, that what he had granted in writing to Henry had been through constraint; that he had acted wrong, and that he wished the decree might be corrected. He offered to resign, if the council thought proper. This doubtless was the most honourable course he could pursue, and better than if he had believed himself without reproach, and hurled his anathemas against the emperor, because he was



only the organ of the council. This pope experienced the fate of all weak men: he pleased neither party. Henry V. who possessed more policy than his father, acquired, by presents and alliances, warm friends among the nobility at Rome. He caused himself to be crowned there a second time, by Bourdin archbishop of Braga, whom he named anti-pope, and took possession of the states of the countess Matilda after her death. Pascal, being forced to fly, wandered about for some time; but hearing that the emperor had returned to Germany, he attacked in person the rebels of Rome, and died of a disease occasioned by having overheated himself, in erecting the machines destined to expel them from the church of St. Peter.

Gelasius II.

1118.

Calixtus II.

1119.

Honorius II.

1124.

As the circumstances of the time would admit of no delay, Gelasius II. was elected to succeed him. This precipitation gave offence to the emperor, who wished to raise to the holy see his anti-pope Bourdin; and notwithstanding the election of Gelasius, he did not abandon his project. Bourdin assumed the name of Gregory VIII. The two rivals excommunicated each other. Bourdin maintained himself in Italy, under the protection of the emperor, and Gelasius took shelter in France, where he died. The cardinals, in his suite, elected there Guy archbishop of Vienne, named Calixtus II. a man of a moderate disposition. There was, however, some violent dis-

putes between him and the emperor. The quarrel respecting investiture was to be terminated in a council held at Reims. The pope, knowing that Henry was coming to support his right at the head of thirty thousand men, excommunicated him; and by this precipitate act of severity, the affair remained undecided. A reconciliation, however, afterwards took place, and peace between the church and the empire was concluded in a council held at Worms, in the presence of the three cardinal legates sent by Calixtus.

The emperor engaged in writing to renounce the right of investing with the crozier and the ring; to grant to all the churches of the empire canonical elections, and to restore all the domains he had usurped. The pope, on his part, agreed also in writing, that the election of the bishops and abbots in Germany should take place in the presence of the emperor or of his commissaries; that in case of any difference, he should grant his consent and protection, according to the opinion of the metropolitan, and that the elected candidate should be put in possession of his temporalities by touching the sceptre, which the emperor was to present to him, and by doing homage. The unfortunate Bourdin, abandoned by this accommodation, was sacrificed; led about with ignominy on an ass through the streets of Rome, and confined for life in a monastery. Calixtus and Henry died within a year of each other. The

former was succeeded by Honorius II. who enjoyed the papal chair in peace.

Innocent II.  
1130.  
Celestin II.  
1143.  
Lucius II.  
1144.

Under Innocent II. who succeeded Honorius, there was a schism in the church; and a schism in the state, under Lothaire II. the successor of Henry. The first schism ended by the death of the anti-pope Anaclet, who was supported by the king of Sicily: and the second by an accommodation between Lothaire and Conrade III. who was the head of the imperial house of Swabia. The council of the Latran, under Innocent, established many rules in regard to discipline. It condemned Arnold de Brene, who inveighed against the riches of the church. This heretic, besides other errors, maintained that the clergy ought to live by offerings. He, however, left them their tythes. He was a disciple of Abelard, whose heresies related only to the dogmas of the church. Abelard, therefore, was suffered to die in peace at Cluni; but Arnold de Brene was burnt alive. Innocent saw Roger king of Sicily do homage at his feet for his kingdom, and enter into an obligation to pay tribute. The Romans, on the other hand, endeavoured to shake off his authority, and to restore that of the senate. Celestin II. and Lucius II. made vain efforts to prevent them from withdrawing themselves from the yoke. Lucius died of a wound which he received in an action under the walls of the capitol.



Eugenius III. was not able to reduce them to submission. Being harassed by their revolts, he retired to France, where he found heretics, disciples of Peter Bruis, whose errors are remarkable. They asserted that it was useless to have churches; that children ought not to be baptised; that neither the cross, images, nor relics, ought to be objects of adoration; that it was mockery of God to pray with a loud voice, and to chant prayers; and that the body of Jesus Christ was not present in the sacrament of the eucharist. These heretics assembled in great numbers at Toulouse and in Languedoc; but dispersed, in consequence of the severities exercised against them. Eugenius returned to Italy, where he lived only a short time, being always harassed by the Romans, and left the tiara to Anastasius IV. who did not retain it more than a year.

Eugenius  
III. 1145.  
Anastasius  
IV. 1153.

It was then placed on the head of Adrian IV. a haughty pontiff, who refused to give the kiss of peace to Frederic Barbarossa, because that prince declined holding his stirrup. The emperor humoured the vanity of the pontiff, who in return decorated him with the imperial crown. This ceremony accustomed the sovereign pontiffs to believe that the empire was actually at their disposal. Adrian expressed this proud opinion in a letter to the emperor, which was read in a full diet. It gave much offence to the German nobility; but one of the legates asked with great boldness:

Adrian IV.  
1154.

"From whom then does he hold the empire, if it be not from the pope?" This pretension, too clearly manifested, caused an uproar in Germany, which the pope was obliged to allay by explanations. Frederic required in Italy concessions of more importance, in regard to the absolute authority assumed there by the popes. Adrian was saved from these humiliations by death.

Alexander  
III. 1159.

Alexander III. was at first embarrassed to maintain himself against an anti-pope, named Victor, raised up by the emperor, and acknowledged even by the councils. Alexander having France under obedience to him, retired thither. He still saw two anti-popes, Pascal and Calixtus; but death freed him from both. Few pontiffs have been so fortunate. Twice did the emperor visit Italy, to which Alexander had returned, in order to reduce him to subjection; and twice was the monarch obliged to leave it with shame, at one time defeated, and at another abandoned by his army, even though composed of Germans. The pontiff was indebted for these advantages to the esteem in which he was held, his great credit, and his ability in negotiation.

It appears that Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, had he listened to Alexander, would not have proceeded so far as to excommunicate the king of England; but, as it was for the privileges of the clergy that the enraged prelate ex-

posed himself, the pope left him to proceed his own way, and took advantage of the archbishop's death to abrogate, in England, certain royal customs which were contrary to his pretensions. He did not shew much obstinacy in regard to the rest. He placed Thomas among the number of the saints, and required that the king of England should assume the cross. He prevailed also on the king of France and the emperor Frederic, with whom he had entered into a reconciliation, to send speedy assistance to the East. Alexander was respected by the Greek emperors; and it is to be presumed that had he lived, this crusade would not have occasioned those disasters which rendered it useless.

Lucius III. found the Romans not very submissive to his will, and their audacity was increased by the arrival of Frederic in Italy. The pope revenged himself by refusing to crown Henry the son of Frederic. The cause of the contest between the emperor and Lucius was the partition of the possessions of the countess Matilda, the succession to which, though long in dispute, had not been finally adjusted. The popes held the greater part of them, which the emperors coveted. Under Clement III. the successor of Gregory VIII. who enjoyed the papal chair only two months, arrangements were made between the pope and Roman senate, which had resumed some authority. The emperor was mediator. At

Lucius III.  
1181.  
Urban III.  
1185.  
Gregory  
VIII. 1187.  
Clement III.  
1187.



length, in 1183, the rights which the emperors could in future claim, in regard to the cities of Italy, were ultimately settled. It was agreed that they should be governed by vicars and counts; and that they should be left in the full enjoyment of their internal police, customs, and liberty, reserving to the emperors the sovereignty and right of appeal.

Celestin III.  
1191.  
Innocent III.  
1198.

The crusades afforded great relief to the popes. In these expeditions they had the supreme command by their legates. Celestine III. and Innocent III. rendered them more frequent by their exhortations, accompanied with a compulsory force, as they excommunicated, and never gave absolution to, princes loaded with that anathema, but on condition of their engaging in the crusades, or of furnishing money for supporting them. Among the number excommunicated, at that period, are reckoned a king of Leon, a duke of Austria, a king of England, a count of Toulouse, and an emperor; beside other princes of different degrees of rank. Sometimes a mere trifle, such as opposition to the will of the pope, was sufficient to call forth these formidable fulminations. It must, however, be allowed, that the fear of this punishment did not fail to restrain princes, as well as the high beneficed clergy, whose manners were not the purest. More regularity, perhaps, would have prevented the propagation of the heresies of the Vaudois, Catarins, Albigenes,

and others which appeared about that period. A little more condescendence might have preserved also to Innocent II. the exclusive privilege of crowning the emperors. As Frederick II. experienced too many difficulties on the part of the sovereign pontiff, he caused that ceremony to be performed at Aix-la-Chapelle by the Archbishop of Mentz.

Having, however, found means to bring about a reconciliation with Honorius III. the successor of Innocent, he caused himself to be crowned by the hands of this pontiff at Rome. Frederick and Honorius had frequent conferences, and during these meetings agreed to certain articles, which they did not observe after they had separated. They lived in this state of alternation without coming to an open rupture; but Gregory IX. exhibited to the world the spectacle of an emperor several times armed in defence of religion, and several times excommunicated.

Honorius  
III. 1216.  
Gregory IX.  
1227.

Frederick embarked at Brindisi, at the head of forty-thousand crusaders, but was driven back to port by a storm. When he landed, he was excommunicated by the pope, as having failed to accomplish his vow. The emperor, however, paid no regard to the papal thunder, and caused divine service to be performed with great pomp in his presence. The pope, irritated at his audacity, redoubled his fulminations. Frederick set out once more, but Gregory wrote to the grand masters of the military orders in the Holy Land, to

hold no communication with him when he arrived. The pope, perhaps, was not so much incensed at Frederick's indifference respecting his excommunication, as on account of his having caused him to be expelled from Rome. The emperor entered into a reconciliation with the pope, who returned to his capital, as did Frederick to Germany; but they were no better friends at a distance, than when near each other. The pontiff supported, and some even assert that he excited, the revolt of Henry, eldest son of the emperor, who was already king of the Romans. Frederick gave this title to his second son Conrade. At one time Gregory hoped to derive great benefit from the conflict of the father and the two brothers; but notwithstanding his domestic embarrassments, the emperor suffered no infringement to be made in any of his rights claimed by the pope. At last, not knowing in what manner he could humble a man so obstinate, who braved all his anathemas, Gregory published a crusade against him, and convoked a general council. The emperor prevented as many of the bishops as he could from attending it, and expelled from his states the minor brethren and dominicans, whom he considered as the trumpeters of revolt. This pontiff, so active and enterprising, and who united so many things in his head without forgetting one of them, was nearly a hundred years of age.



At his death he wished that some one more a friend to peace might be appointed his successor. This wish was gratified by the election of Celestin IV. a man of a good disposition; but he died at the end of eighteen days. On this occasion the holy see was vacant for twenty months. Frederick, who had returned to Italy, remained at Rome, and hastened the election; but he would have done better, had he employed less warmth. He found a formidable antagonist in Innocent IV. Immediately after the election they had an interview; but could not come to an accommodation. The pope conceiving that he was not safe in Rome, where the emperor had a great many partisans, quitted his capital, and repaired to France, where he assembled a celebrated council at Lyons, in which he deposed Frederick. Having then published a crusade against him, he declared Henry, landgrave of Thuringia, king of the Romans. The pontiff endeavoured to raise up enemies against this prince even in Asia. The emperor thought therefore, that the shortest method, with a man so dangerous, would be to enter into an accommodation. He accordingly made advances, and they were not fruitless.

The landgrave being dead, Innocent caused William, count of Holland, to be acknowledged in his place, and crowned him in Italy. The hatred of the pontiff was not extinguished by the death of the emperor Frederick: it extended even

Celestin IV.  
1241.  
Innocent  
IV. 1243.

to Conrade III. his son, whom he not only refused to acknowledge as emperor, but excommunicated. The count of Holland, who was more prudent, or incapable of maintaining himself, retired. The obstinate Innocent then offered the crown to the duke of Guelderland, to that of Brabant, to the earl of Cornwall, and even to Haquin, king of Norway, who had taken up the cross; but this prince replied, that he had armed in order to combat the enemies of the church, and not those of the pope. Not being able to gratify his hatred against the descendants of Frederick, in any other manner, he endeavoured to deprive of the crown of Naples, Mainfroi, brother of the emperor Conrade III. and offered it to Charles of Anjou, brother of the king of France. Conrade and Innocent died almost at the same time. The emperor left an infant son, named Conradin. Either through esteem for Innocent, notwithstanding their quarrels, or of fear, Conrade, on his death-bed, recommended this son to Innocent, who died near Naples, where he was combatting against Mainfroi.

Alexander  
IV. 1254.  
Urban IV.  
1261.  
Clement  
IV. 1265.

Notwithstanding the deference of Conrade, the system of the papal council was not changed in regard to the house of Swabia. A descendant of Frederick could not be a friend of the church of Rome. Alexander IV. did every thing in his power to prevent Conradin from being raised to the place of his father. Several candidates di-

vided the suffrages, and occasioned a civil war in Germany; but Mainfroi, in spite of the pontiff, still held the sceptre of Naples and Sicily with a firm hand. Urban V. Alexander's successor, continued to offer it to the duke of Anjou. It was with difficulty, that Saint Louis could be prevailed on to allow his brother to accept it, but he at length permitted him. The pope added to this offer that of excommunicating Mainfroi.

The death of this prince enabled Charles to make some progress in the kingdom which had been conferred on him by the hatred of the popes against the house of Swabia. Clement IV. followed the same course as Alexander, and crowned Charles of Anjou, at Rome, king of Naples. The pontiff saw the success of his friend against the unfortunate Conradin. This young prince, who possessed great valour, collected under his standards an army of Germans, and at their head came to offer battle to his enemy, in the plains of Apulia. He was, however, defeated, and fell into the hands of the savage Charles of Anjou, who caused his head to be struck off in the presence of all the people, in the grand square at Naples. This event excited a cry of horror throughout all Europe. If the efforts of Conradin were not attended with success, being thus cut off in the bloom of life, he carried with him the regret of his age, and the esteem of posterity.



Gregory X.

1271.

Innocent V.

1276.

Adrian V.

1276.

John XXI.

1276.

Nicholas

III. 1277.

Martin IV.

1281.

Honorius

IV. 1285.

Germany was in a state of confusion, the disorders of which could be equalled only by those of Italy. The electors, harassed with anarchy, after the extinction of the house of Swabia, and hard pressed by Gregory X. the successor of Alexander, who threatened to name an emperor, if they did not come to a determination in their choice, they proclaimed Rodolphus, count of Hapsbourg. The pope, and his successors, who, in thirteen years, were six in number, beheld with pleasure, on the imperial throne, a prince, not very powerful of himself, who, in order to procure a solid establishment in Germany, would readily relax in regard to the rights claimed by his predecessors in Italy. Rodolphus, indeed, suffered himself to be persuaded by the popes to grant them every thing relating to their temporal authority, which they required. He resigned to Nicholas III. the exarchate of Ravenna, the marquisate of Ancona, the duchy of Spoleto, the lands of the countess Matilda, and a great many fiefs. In all these cessions, however, he renounced only homage and rights of honour. The useful rights, over these countries, had long ceased to be of any value to the emperors.

This Nicholas III. is the first who gave any power to his nephews, in the possessions of the church. He ought, therefore, to be considered as the author of *nepotism*. Rodolphus being in-

vited to Italy by Honorius IV. in order to be crowned, was sensible that he could act there only an insignificant part, without an army. But, though he was not able to support the expence of troops, he nevertheless promised to repair thither; and dispatched his chancellor before him to make the towns take an oath of fidelity. The greater part of them, having rendered themselves independent, refused. The emperor caring very little for authority at a distance, and perhaps being incapable of recovering it, sent word to his chancellor to confirm, for money, all the privileges that might be demanded from him. In this manner Lucca, Florence, Pisa, Bologna, Genoa, and many other cities were made free. We ought to fix at this epoch the independence of Italy, where the emperors of Germany have not retained even a shadow of authority.

The Roman families were then struggling with success against the sovereign pontiffs. The most considerable of these was that of Colonna and Ursini. Popes had already been elected from them, and they were generally rivals. The princes who were engaged in quarrels with the holy see always found one of these families disposed to molest the pontiffs. Two opposite factions were maintained by them in the senate. After the death of Nicholas IV. they caused the pontifical throne to be vacant two years. Bodies, as well as individuals, are sometimes liable to suffer them-

Nicholas  
IV. 1288.  
Celestin V.  
1294.

selves to be hurried away by enthusiasm. Not being able to agree in the choice of a man of merit, the college of cardinals, as if through inspiration, gave all their votes to Peter Mouron, a poor hermit, who was considered as a saint, though simple and ignorant. He assumed the name of Celestin V. and began to govern, as might be expected, without knowledge and discernment. The moment of enthusiasm being past, the cardinals began to think of deposing him; but he did justice to himself, and abdicated the chair.

Boniface  
VIII. 1294.  
Benedict  
XI. 1303.

He pursued this step chiefly by the persuasion of Benedict Cajetan, who taking advantage of it, caused himself to be elected under the name of Boniface VIII. As soon almost as he assumed the tiara, he embroiled himself with the family of Colonna; and became one of the most zealous supporters of the apostolic pretensions. Boniface maintained them against Philip the Fair, king of France, with an arrogance, the consequences of which occasioned to him a great deal of trouble. He had the imprudence to forbid the clergy to pay a tax imposed by the king, and the audacity to threaten, that if the prince persisted, he would declare his kingdom to have devolved to the holy see. The threat was almost immediately followed by the blow; but the noise of his fulminations was lost. Excommunication occasioned no movement in France. Philip appealed to the next



council, in regard to the enterprises of the pope. He excited against him the family of Colonna, who, in concert with Nogaret, a French captain, sent for the purpose, took the pope prisoner, and treated him with so much contempt, that he died of grief. Benedict XI. his successor, repaired his faults, and produced a reconciliation between France and the holy see.

The seeds of discord still remained in the sacred college. Some wished to elect a pope who followed the errors of Boniface VIII. and others a pontiff favourable to France. Not being able to agree, they entered into a compromise, according to which they were to nominate three persons who should have the power of electing. All the votes were united for three men, avowed enemies of Philip the Fair. No doubt was then entertained of their having a pope, a defender of the systems of Boniface VIII. and, like him, an opponent of Philip. Among these three electors was Bertrand de Got, archbishop of Vienne, known as an inveterate enemy of the king of France. But every other sentiment is absorbed by ambition. Philip having obtained an interview with Bertrand, proved to him that it was in his own power to become pope, as he had his two colleagues at his disposal; and that his election depended on three conditions which he proposed to him. They were accepted by the archbishop of Vienne, who was transferred from that

Clement V.

1305

see to the see of Rome, but without going thither. He fixed his residence at Avignon. It may be said, that he had no immediate concern in any thing which took place in the capital of the world during his pontificate. He maintained there three cardinals, as governors, in regard to affairs spiritual and temporal; and who crowned in Rome Henry VII. emperor of Germany. Clement contributed to the destruction of the Templars, which is believed to have been one of the conditions of his treaty with Philip the Fair. The second was to permit that prince to levy from the clergy as much money as he thought proper. Philip, in this respect, was not sparing; but Clement saved the memory of Boniface, his predecessor, from the odium which that monarch was preparing to throw upon it, and his not executing this clause did not occasion any quarrel between them.

John XXII.  
1316.

As the cardinals, dispersed in different places, lived at a distance from Rome, the common centre, the king of France, on the death of Clement, assembled as many of them as he could, at Lyons, where they elected James d'Offat, who assumed the name of John XXII. He was fond of descending from great things to little, or, rather, he treated little things with great importance. This pontiff employed the same fulminations, both against the emperors, who refused to acknowledge his temporal superiority, and against the minor brothers who, as he asserted, led a mean and

frugal life only that they might censure, in an indirect manner, the pomp of his court and the opulence of the clergy. He abandoned these ecclesiastics, therefore, to persecution, in those kingdoms where he had credit; but they avenged themselves by accusing him of heresy, on account of some mystic ideas, which he ventured to express, respecting the beatific vision enjoyed by the saints in the other world.

John XXII. had a more important dispute, respecting the possessions of the present world, with Louis of Bavaria. This prince caused him to be deposed at Rome, and an anti-pope to be elected in his stead. But John, being in France, set the wrath of the emperor at defiance. He even excited against that prince enemies, sufficiently powerful to alarm him in regard to his own crown. The contest between the two combatants was about to be decided by a council, when John died, acknowledging his error in regard to the minor brothers, but firm in his sentiments respecting the pontifical power. He left an immense treasure, acquired by four means: first fruits, preventions, expectative graces, and the gradation of benefices and of first fruits. The last are the first year's revenue of the benefices conferred by the pope, and he conferred almost the whole of them, in virtue of the right of prevention, which was a privilege, claimed by the sovereign pontiffs, of anticipating the collators of



benefices, when they heard of their vacancy before the benefice was given away. There were at the papal court clerks who watched for this kind of sleep, as we may say, of the collator, and who whispered into the pope's ear, in order to obtain the benefice which they expected: this was called *expectative favour*. In the last place, the pope translated from one benefice to another, and enjoyed the first year's revenue of both: *gradations*, which were an abundant source of riches, but an incitement to avarice and ambition. To the two crowns, which already decorated the tiara, this haughty pontiff added a third.

Bened. XII.  
1334.

Benedict XII. his successor, had been a Cistercian monk. He was named Cardinal Blanc, because he wore the habit of his order. He was not much esteemed in the sacred college, yet he had all their voices. He was astonished at his success himself, and said, "You have elected an ass:" meaning, by this expression, that he knew nothing at all of the affairs and business of the pontifical court; but he accustomed himself to them, and had neither less pride nor less art than any of his brethren. One of his bulls still exists, in which he invites a certain prince to his coronation, and tells him that he intends to make it very solemn: "You will hold," says he, "the bridle of my horse, unless kings are present." Benedict gained more by negotiation than John could do by violence. He made peace with the

emperor and other potentates, without derogating from the pretensions of the holy see.

Clement VI. by whom he was succeeded, did not possess the same moderation. He revived the ancient quarrels, and opposed to Louis of Bavaria, at that time in possession of the imperial crown, a competitor, who, by the death of Louis, was firmly established on the throne, to the great satisfaction of Clement. This pontiff resided in France, where he acquired a fixed habitation, by the purchase of Avignon, or, the gift of it to him under the appearance of sale, by Jean, queen of Naples and countess of Provence, in order that she might obtain absolution for the murder of her husband, of which she was accused.

Clement VI.  
1342.

Rome, being deprived of the presence of the pope, fell a prey to the factions of the great. Their want of union gave strength to a popular party, who took possession of the government under Gabrino de Rienzi. This demagogue was the son of a miller and a washer-woman, who became a notary, and was sent to Avignon to request the pope to come and reside at Rome. The account which he gave of his journey, on his return, was so much relished, that he was unanimously elected tribune of the people. Being conducted from the capitol, with full authority, he expelled the Colonna, Ursini, and other families of the chief nobility, weakened by their divisions. The tribune sent deputies to all the cities of Italy, to

inform them that the Romans had just recovered their liberty, and to request them to imitate and assist the metropolis. Many of the towns promised to unite themselves, and entered into a treaty; and the alliance of Rienzi was courted even by foreign princes.

He was in the full enjoyment of prosperity, when he set bounds to his good fortune by his extravagant folly. The son of the miller assumed those haughty airs which he had censured in the nobility, and caused himself to be armed as a chevalier, in the presence of all the people. As it was necessary that this ceremony should be preceded by the bath, he performed that part in the tub in which, according to tradition, Constantine had been baptized. In his letters, Rienzi intitled himself; "Chevalier, candidate of the Holy Ghost; the severe and clement deliverer of Rome; the zealot of Italy; the lover of the universe and august tribune." As if immoderate pretensions belonged to every government at Rome, he cited before his tribunal Louis duke of Bavaria, and Charles king of Bohemia, with their electors, in order to give an account of their conduct.

His credit was ruined by this extravagant behaviour. The pope in a bull, which opened the eyes of the Romans, treated him as a fool and a fanatic. The nobility regained the superiority, and Rienzi, being forced to fly, sought shelter



from the king of Hungary, and afterwards from that of Bohemia, who delivered him up to the pope. He, however, still retained some consideration at Rome, as the cardinals, who resided there, thought he might be useful to them in re-establishing the authority of the sovereign pontiff. The pope conferred upon him the titles of chevalier, senator of Rome, and tribune of the people. He was guilty of new acts of folly. The people grew tired of him; attacked him, pursued him to the capitol, and subjected him to a cruel death. "A remarkable instance," say the historians, "of the singular changes of fortune, and the instability of every thing that has its source in popular ferment."

Innocent VI. the successor of Clement VI. enjoying quietness at Avignon, during his pontificate, suffered Italy, and particularly Rome, to be torn by factions, the fury of which might have been calmed by his presence; but he contented himself with sending thither legates, under the title of governors. One of them crowned, at Rome, the emperor Charles IV. This pope seemed to shew as little desire as Innocent for putting an end to the disorders of Italy. Urban V. by whom he was succeeded, wished to go to Rome; but not to make it the place of his residence. He received there two emperors, that of the East, whom he crowned himself, and that of the West, Michael Paleologus, who came to demand assist-

Innocent VI.  
1352.  
Urban V.  
1362.

ance against the Turks. Urban gave him letters of recommendation to the Venetians and the Genoese. This is all he obtained by his journey, in return for his complaisance in submitting his church to the pope.

Gregory XI.  
1370.

The successor of Urban, Gregory XI. received from Waldemar, king of Denmark, an answer not very satisfactory. The reader may judge by the following anecdote whether he deserved it. The inhabitants of Jutland having revolted, wrote to the pope to vindicate themselves in regard to their rebellion, and their excuses contained bitter complaints against their sovereign. Gregory, who believed their grievances to be real, wrote a haughty letter to Waldemar, and threatened him with excommunication if he did not satisfy his subjects. The monarch replied : “ I hold my life  
“ from God ; my possessions from my ancestors,  
“ and my faith from your predecessors. If you  
“ pretend to any right over them, I resign them  
“ to you by these presents.” Induced by the intreaty of the Romans, Gregory quitted Avignon, and repaired to Rome, with a design of establishing his residence in that city ; but he found there neither that submission nor pleasure which he had been taught to expect, and died of a broken heart.

Urban VI.  
1378.  
Boniface IX.  
1389.

It had been foretold to Gregory that his return to Rome would be advantageous neither to him nor to his successors, and the prognostic was ve-

rified only too soon. The French cardinals, who formed three-fourths of the sacred college, when they entered the conclave, found themselves immediately surrounded by a band calling out with every symptom of fury, "A Roman pope; an Italian pope, or death." In this extremity they elected, amidst great tumult, Bartholomew Prignano, originally from Naples, who assumed the name of Urban VI. This man was so harsh, haughty, and it may be said, ferocious, that after three months patience, the cardinals, all except four, revised their election; declared it to have been forced, and named to the papal chair Robert of Geneva, who assumed the title of Clement VII. There was then formed what is called the grand schism of the West. Germany, Hungary, England, Bohemia, Poland, Denmark, Sweden, Flanders, and almost all Italy, acknowledged obedience to Urban; France, Spain, Scotland, Naples, and Cyprus, declared for Clement. Others resolved to remain neuter, until the decision of a general council, which was universally demanded. The rivals excommunicated each other, and reproached each other with their vices. The people adopted their hatred and their animosity with such a persevering fury and violence, as occasioned a general calamity in Europe, the dismal effects of inconsiderate zeal, which hurt the cause of religion, while it favoured the numberless heresies that appeared about this period. The

Innocent  
VII. 1404.  
Gregory  
XII. 1406.  
Alexander  
V. 1409.  
John XXIII  
1419.



consequence was the degradation of the clergy, whose misfortunes have always originated from the discord of its members.

It must here be remarked, that all the popes, after making promises to the people, when candidates for their favour, were no sooner elected, than they drew from these very people, as necessary for supporting their cause, immense sums, the exaction of which occasioned murmurs, complaints, and often a cessation of their obedience, in order that they might attach themselves to another by whom they were no better treated. He, then, who had been revered as *pope*, became *anti-pope*, to his former partisans. It is also to be observed, that princes often supported a pontiff, merely because they shared in the money levied from the people in his favour. Hence that zeal and that fervour of religion, which seem astonishing to those not acquainted with their secret motives. Thus the duke of Anjou, regent of France, under the minority of Charles VI. took it very ill that the university made strong remonstrances to him respecting the levies exacted by Clement VII. because he had a share of them. It is to be remarked, in the last place, that it would be wrong to give to either of these sovereign pontiffs the degrading name of anti-pope. This appellation, admitted at that period through passion, ought not to be consecrated by history.

Clement VII. retired to Avignon. Urban VI. after some stay at Rome, being more feared than loved, took up his residence in the kingdom of Naples, which he considered rather as a part of his dominions, than as an asylum. Entertaining these sentiments, it was not long before he quarrelled with Charles de Duras, who at that time possessed the crown. This prince besieged him in the castle of Nocera. Four times a day Urban appeared at a window of the fortress, and holding in his hand a bell and a wax-candle, excommunicated the army by which he was surrounded. He found means to escape, and, though exposed to great danger and inconvenience in his flight, was able to get into his hands six cardinals, who, as he pretended, had a design to poison him. The pontiff dragged them about enchained in his suite; and after subjecting them to the pain of torture, dispatched them by a cruel death. This tyrannical behaviour deprived him of many partisans, and strengthened the obedience of those who supported Clement. The latter saw himself on the eve of remaining alone by the death of Urban; but the Italian cardinals, called the Urbanist party, hastened to make an election, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Clementines, who begged them to defer it. They chose a Neapolitan, who assumed the name of Boniface IX. He was received at Rome, but the troubles which then prevailed did not permit him

to remain long in that city. The death of Clement induced him to make the same attempt with the Clementine cardinals, as the latter had made with the Urbanists: the result was the same. The Clementines assembled at Avignon, notwithstanding the remonstrances of France, elected Peter de Lune, a native of Arragon, who took the name of Benedict XIII. These two popes invited each other to yield, and employed mutual threats and excommunication. The people, who paid obedience to each party, declared that they would renounce both, if they did not come to an agreement.

The only means which seemed likely to effect this measure, was the submission of one to the other. They at length put an end to their contest; but Boniface would not resign before Benedict; and Benedict wished to see Boniface set him the example. The reason of this obstinacy was, that when the one had abdicated, the other would have attempted to retain the tiara, as being left alone with the title. In consequence of Benedict's tergiversation, France renounced its obedience, but without acknowledging the other. It remained neuter. Benedict, in danger of being seized, escaped to Avignon. Finding himself abandoned, he sent ambassadors to Boniface with proposals sufficiently equitable; but the latter died after the first audience, and his partisans, the Urbanists, being as imprudently urged as the



Clementines had been on a like occasion, elected at Rome, to which Boniface had returned, a Neapolitan, who assumed the name of Innocent VII.

Benedict still adhering to pacific intentions, or wishing to shew that he did so, announced a design of proceeding to Italy, in order to have an interview with his competitor. Innocent pretended that this desire was not sincere, and refused him a safe-guard. He, however, died soon after; and this event furnished Benedict with a pretence for suspending all conciliatory steps, without incurring blame. The cardinals of Innocent's party, always precipitate, elected a Venetian, who styled himself Gregory XII. These cardinals had sworn, in a full consistory, that whichever of them was chosen should renounce the pontificate, in case the anti-pope did the same. Gregory confirmed his oath after the election. They then began to endeavour to make the two popes abdicate; but finding them both equally averse to this condescension, the cardinals of each party united in the council held at Pisa, in 1409; and elected a cardinal born in Candia, who assumed the name of Alexander V. This pope, in going to Rome after Gregory XII. had been obliged to fly from it, died at Bologna, to which he had been invited by Balthazar Cossa. Balthazar, whose morals were more than suspected, enjoyed unlimited power in that city. He, therefore,

gained over the cardinals, who accompanied Alexander; and caused himself to be elected. He is known under the name of John XXIII.

Martin V.  
1417.

This was one pope more added to the number; for Benedict and Gregory, who had not dared to oppose the election of Alexander, which took place in a full council, boldly declared against that of John, which they pretended to have been obtained by simony and force. On this account, and in order to repress the heresy of John Hufs and Jerome of Prague, they convoked a council at Constance, where the two heresiarchs were tried, condemned by the fathers, and delivered to the emperor Sigismund, who caused them to be burned alive, though they had a protection. Some sparks, that remained among the ashes of these two men, produced a conflagration which set all Europe in flames. In the same council John XXIII. was deposed for crimes which were too well proved. Gregory abdicated by proxy; but he was allowed to retain the honours which his moderation merited. Otho Colonna, a Roman, was then elected, and assumed the name of Martin V. Benedict would never consent to yield. From the small castle of Panficola, on the frontiers of Arragon, he indulged in the pleasure of daily hurling his fulminations against the whole of christendom, by which he had been abandoned. Two cardinals, who remained attached to him,

being forced by the king of Arragon, proceeded to the election of a successor, who assumed the name of Clement VIII. but the schism was not really ended till the year 1429, by demission, and absolute renunciation, of that ephemeron pontiff.

Martin V. was succeeded by Eugenius IV. a Venetian. It might have been expected, that, as he assumed the place of a pope elected in a council, he would have been firmly seated on the throne. He, however, tottered, and was in great danger of being precipitated from it. The Hussites having demanded a council that they might return to the bosom of the church, Eugenius could not refuse to comply with their request. He convoked one at Basle; but not voluntarily, as he foresaw that questions embarrassing to the court of Rome might be proposed in it. The opinions of John Hufs, indeed, respecting the spiritual authority of the popes, brought on discussions in regard to the temporal power. In endeavouring to prove their assertions, they proceeded to explanations which gave rise to objections. These were followed by the improbation of certain rights, condemned by the Hussites as usurpations. In order to bring back these heretics, the council gave explanations which Eugenius refused to adopt. As the fathers of Basle continued to surround these outworks of Romish pretensions, without much caring for the anathemas with which they had been strengthened,

Eugenius IV  
1431.



by all the popes from Gregory VII. and which they always increased, Eugenius thought he could check them by transferring the council to Ferrara. But the fathers maintained their post at Basle; first suspended, then excommunicated, and at last deposed Eugenius, and brought forwards as his adversary Amadeus, duke of Savoy, who assumed the name of Felix V.

The diversion of Eugenius, however, produced its effect. Several of the prelates quitted Basle in succession, displeased, as is said, because the pope had been treated with too much harshness. They repaired to Ferrara, and were transferred thence by the pope to Florence, the assembly of which soon became important by the junction of the Greeks, whom Eugenius had the address to draw thither. The union of the two churches, which was there proclaimed, though only a mere ceremony, attended with no useful consequence, gave to the assembly of Florence a distinction which entirely effaced that of the council of Basle and its pope Felix. The latter preserved some of the external part of the popedom, but Eugenius had all the substance, being acknowledged in almost every church, and particularly at Rome, where he died. Few men have possessed so much cunning and art; and few have been able to give rise, in the same manner, to favourable circumstances, and to take advantage of them. His bulls, respecting the temporal authority, while

they seem to make every required concession; grant nothing but what he intended to grant; that is to say, nothing tending to abridge the authority to which he was so much attached.

Nicholas V. had been only a few months cardinal, when he was elected pope. He was an able negotiator. By conciliatory means he obtained the renunciation of Felix V. and made himself be acknowledged by the prelates, who had removed from Basle to Lausanne. Nicholas had formed some plans for a crusade against the Turks, which Calistus II. who came after him, endeavoured to realise, but without success. This honour was reserved for Pius II. who induced several princes to furnish money, and to send him troops. The zeal which he employed in his preparations might have given them a favourable issue, had not death prevented him from continuing them. He proposed to put himself at the head of the army, and was ready to embark, being instigated not by imprudent and ambitious ardour, but by the hopes that his devotion to the cause would induce the Christians to unite against the Turks, who threatened Italy. His crusade appears, therefore, to have been more reasonable than the rest; and at any rate to have originated from a more useful motive. Pius II. may be ranked among those princes whose celebrity was not augmented by their dignity. He was known among the learned, under the name of Æneas Sylvius, before his head was ornamented

Nicholas V.  
1447.  
Calixtus  
III. 1455.  
Pius II.  
1458.

with the triple crown. In the council of Basle he opposed the ultramontain pretensions; but when raised to the papal chair, he extolled them in his writings, and defended them in his bulls. He established at Rome an academy, which was destroyed by his successor as dangerous, because the pupils in it disputed on the immortality of the soul, and other abstract subjects.

Paul II.  
1465.

This successor, Paul II. was, through principle, an enemy to the sciences. He said they conducted to heresy; and that it was sufficient for the Romans if they caused their children to be taught to read and to write. In other respects he was generous and magnificent; but too attentive to trifles, and fond of jewels and ornaments. He ordered a superb tiara to be made for his own use, and assigned the red colour to the cardinals for their dress. He had great penetration in public affairs, and the view he took of things was just. He was frequently chosen arbitrator by princes in their quarrels; but he exceeded the right of arbitration, and assumed the power of excommunicating those who did not acquiesce in his decisions.

Sixtus IV.  
1471.

Francis de la Rovera, his successor, was the son of a fisherman. When removed from the cell of a cordelier to the pontifical palace, he did not find himself misplaced. Under the cowl he was accounted learned; under the tiara he made himself formidable as a warrior. Sixtus favoured



the enemies of the Medici at Florence, and in a great measure was the cause of the troubles by which that republic was agitated. He is to be considered as one of the greatest benefactors of the library of the Vatican. He enriched it with rare and uncommon manuscripts, which he caused to be searched for in every part of the world; instituted librarians for the languages least known, and assigned revenues for the purchase of books. Though liberal towards establishments, he was not so in regard to the learned themselves. Useful and sumptuous edifices are still distinguished by his name.

The sciences and the fine arts suffered no decrease under Innocent VIII. who was fond of them. He was a man of a disposition sufficiently pacific. The engagement which he entered into with Bajazet, emperor of the Turks, to keep prisoner his brother Zizim, who had surrendered himself under the faith of protection, may be objected to him as a stain on the reputation of a just and generous prince. But this species of bargain is nothing, when compared with that of his successor, Cæsar Borgia, named Alexander VI. He is accused, and with great probability, of having sold the life of the Turkish prince to his brother; and, as he could not keep him, because he was demanded in imperious terms by the king of France, of having delivered him up poisoned. Besides, every crime which might be doubted

Innocent  
VIII. 1484.  
Alexander  
VI. 1492.  
Pius III.  
1503.  
Julius II.  
1503.

when ascribed to others, becomes credible when related of Alexander VII. He was guilty of murder, treachery, incest, and breach of faith, without ever performing a laudable action to counterbalance these dreadful enormities. One of his sons, for he had been married, worthy of such a father, killed his brother through jealousy, because he believed he was more favoured by their sister Lucretia, who is said to have been beloved by her father in a manner different from what a daughter ought. This fratricide had, in concert with his father, prepared poison for two cardinals, whose property he wished to inherit; but by an involuntary mistake of the cup-bearer, they drank the poison themselves. Alexander survived only a few hours; and expired in horrible torture, a death worthy of such a life. His successor, Pius III. reigned only twenty-six days; and was followed by Julius II. the nephew of Sixtus IV. who considered himself more as a prince than a pontiff. He was seen sometimes with a cuirass on his body, combating at the head of his troops. He employed the thunder of the church, not like his predecessors, as his principal force, but as an auxiliary to cannons and pikes. Sixtus was engaged in war during his whole pontificate, and his death gave peace to Italy.

Leo X.  
1513.

It afforded general satisfaction to see him succeeded by Leo X. of the family of Medici. This pontiff, only thirty-six years of age, was liberal

and polite ; of irreproachable morals as a prince, but too fond of pomp and luxury as a pope. The sciences flourished under his pontificate. He contributed to their advancement, and deserved that the century in which he lived should be distinguished by his name. On account of the progress and improvement of human knowledge, it has been called the age of Leo X. in the same manner as the age of Charlemagne was spoken of formerly, and as the age of Louis XIV. has been spoken of since. But Leo X. though glorious in this point of view, had the mortification to see the origin of those heresies which detached from the holy see a great part of Europe.

They originated in the rivalry of two religious orders, one of which was preferred in the publication of indulgences. The name of indulgence was given to a permission to eat meat, eggs, milk, and cheese on prohibited days. This permission was granted by means of bulls, which were sold ; and the money arising from the sale was destined for building the superb church of St. Peter at Rome. Besides these permissions, the bulls promised absolution from all sins, and the deliverance of souls from purgatory. It was for this also, that they were called indulgences or general pardons.

The Dominican monks being entrusted with the sale of these bulls in Saxony, the Augustines, incensed because they were not admitted to share



in the profit, began to cry down this traffic in their sermons and books of theses. Luther, an Augustine, and professor of theology in the university of Wirtemberg, in concert with his brethren, instituted public disputes on the value of the *grand pardons*, and the efficacy of *indulgences*, which he rendered suspected. He was a man of great boldness, possessed eloquence rather vehement than polished, and attacked the sellers with audacity. Leo X. neglected, for some time, to take any share in the dispute, which he considered as of little importance; but being informed that the receipt decreased, and that the opinions of Luther, on some dogmatic points, and against the authority of the church, were gaining ground, among princes as well as among the people, he issued a bull of condemnation against the doctor of Wirtemberg, and gave orders, under his hand, that the traffic, which was already declining, should be suffered to drop. This pope died with the firm persuasion that these measures were sufficient, and that the quarrel would be ended.

Adrian VI.  
1522.

This, however, was far from being the case. Adrian VI. the successor of Leo X. who had great influence with Charles V. and disposed of his power, employed it against the adversary of indulgences; but Luther was not intimidated; he had become the chief of a formidable party, and had been artful enough to intermix, with the

first objects of dispute, a number of questions which flattered the independence of the German princes, and the inclination of the inferior clergy to shake off the yoke imposed on them by the prelates. Thus, the princes supported him, and the clergy, more numerous, applauding his opinions in private, assisted to propagate them among the people. The bulls of Adrian VI. the edicts which he obtained from the emperor, and the resolutions of the diets which were convoked, seemed to contribute rather to diffuse Lutheranism, by giving it publicity, than to extinguish it. When the theatre of dispute was once opened, the combatants were eager to make their appearance. Zuinglius dogmatized in Switzerland, at the same time that Luther did in Germany, differing from each other only in a few points of doctrine. Socinus and several others frittered away, as we may say, the catholic faith, by suppressing the fundamental articles, and denying, some one mystery and some another, as if it were possible that all human knowledge, and particularly that which rises to the Deity, could begin in any other manner than by a mystery.

Adrian VI. left the helm of the ecclesiastical vessel, in the midst of these storms, to Clement VII. No pope was ever under greater embarrassment. He found himself involved in a conflict of interests between Charles V. and Francis II. often without knowing to whom he should ad-

Clement VII  
1523.

here, and fluctuating from one party to another, according to circumstances. The emperor, more skilful and more successful than his rival, made the pope repent his tergiversation; but he still preserved towards him that appearance of respect due to the head of the church. He was desirous that the violence exercised against the pontiff might not appear as having proceeded from his orders; and while his troops kept the holy father a prisoner at Rome, he caused prayers to be offered up in Spain for his deliverance. Clement recovered from this disgrace, and appeared with dignity as mediator between these monarchs, whom he obliged to conclude a peace. Henry VIII. king of England, threw him into a state of great anxiety, by the divorce which he wished to obtain from Catherine, the aunt of Charles V. He found himself much perplexed between these two princes, being sure of displeasing the emperor if he consented to a dissolution of the marriage, and exposed to the resentment of the king of England, a proud and haughty monarch, if he resisted. By delay, intermixed with artful management, Clement prevented the latter from proceeding to the last extremity during his life time.

Paul III.  
1534.

He died, just at the period, perhaps, when he was on the point of being compelled to strike that blow which separated England from the church of Rome, under Paul III. Schism and heresies increased in Germany to such a degree, that the



authority of the popes was thought insufficient for restoring order, and that it was found necessary to convoke a general council. Paul III. who was not averse to this expedient, seemed disposed to call a council, but he wished it might be held in Italy. The protestants, such was the name given to the dissidents from the Romish church, thought it proper to remark, that, by assembling a council in Italy, the pope had a design to render himself master of it, and they demanded that the succours, destined to extinguish the flames of discord, should be sent to Germany, which they considered as the centre of all the troubles. After much delay, and various expedients employed to elude the council, such as bulls of reformation, which the pope pretended were sufficient to check the prevailing disorders, he convoked it in the city of Trent, on the confines of Germany and Italy. It was opened with much solemnity in 1545, but, under a pretence of contagious diseases having broken out at Trent, the pope, after eight sessions, transferred it to Bologna. At this place, only one session was held; and by the policy of Paul, who persisted in not removing the council back to Trent, every thing languished till his death.

The first measure of his successor, Julius III. was to recall the council to Trent. In this point he satisfied the protestants; but they were highly displeased at his pretending to preside in it himself

Julius III.  
1550.  
Marcellus II  
1555.  
Paul IV.  
1555.

or by the representation of his legates. They, however, determined to carry thither their grievances, which was in some measure acquiescing in whatever might be decided. But when it was proposed to them to repair thither in person, in order to defend their opinions, they did not find sufficient protection, a difficulty which made the council be suspended after the sixteenth session. It was not resumed during the life of Julius. Marcellus II. enjoyed the papal chair scarcely a month, being carried off by an apoplexy. During the whole reign of Paul IV. who succeeded him, no thoughts were entertained of the council. This pope imagined he could supply the place of the light that might have arisen from this assembly, by the flames of the inquisition, which he kindled up with fury. He was a haughty pontiff, proud of the severity of his manners, yet magnificent on occasions of importance. Being a friend to justice, he had the courage to disgrace his nephews, who made a bad use of their influence.

Pius IV.  
1559.

His successor, Pius IV. made his nephews, on the other hand, come to Rome, loaded them with wealth, and introduced them into the government. He *renewed* or *continued* the council of Trent; for these two words were the subject of violent debates. The second gave to the decrees already passed an authority which the protestants refused to acknowledge. The pope adhered to

the word *continue*; and it was accordingly admitted. His urgent desire for assembling the council arose from threats thrown out in France, where every thing was in greater confusion than in Germany, of holding a national council. That of Trent was revived with much more importance than it had ever enjoyed. The bishops made a declaration there against the ultramontain pretensions, with a firmness which alarmed the pope. He had recourse, therefore, to queen Catherine of Medici, who was all-powerful at the court of her son, Charles IX. This princess induced the French bishops to shew more deference to the wishes of the pope. After a great deal of preparation for this *revival* or *continuation*, as if all parties had been disposed to discuss the points in dispute at full length, the decision, either owing to the members being tired or to political reasons, was given in an abrupt manner. The council terminated in 1563. Pius V. heard of its conclusion with great satisfaction, confirmed its determination, and issued orders for bringing about those reforms which it prescribed.

This council determined the articles of faith of the catholic church. The protestants have suppressed several sacraments and rites, which, judging of them even by the light of reason, might have been retained, not only without risk, but even with utility. To begin by baptism, all religions have a first act of initiation, accompanied



with ceremonies calculated to excite respect. Those of the catholics are attended with that advantage. Confirmation calls to mind the principles of morality, and gives them a divine origin, which enforces the practice of them and makes the infraction of them to be dreaded. The worship of images ornaments churches, and presents models of virtue. It is a kind of writing to the ignorant, who are always the greater number. The practice of confession is often a source of consolation and advice to the unfortunate, as extreme unction is of hope to the dying. It is certain, that adding an act of religion to marriage cannot fail of impressing the mind with more respect for that engagement, on which the happiness of life depends. Prayer for the dead is an act of homage paid to that belief entertained of the immortality of the soul which is attended with so much utility. In the last place, the idea of the real presence of the divinity gives weight, as I may say, to the pompous ceremonies of the catholic church, and renders them as affecting as they are august. If abuses had crept into these practices, they ought to have been reformed, but not destroyed.

The celibacy of priests, and their consecration, have made the clergy a distinct body in the state. The council of Trent published, respecting the discipline of that body and its privileges, some canons which were not generally adopted, even by catholics. Pius IV. took care that the regu-

lations which concerned the supreme authority should be involved in so much ambiguity, that the whole or a part of them might be maintained, according to circumstances.

In this council, the religious orders were obliged to subject themselves to one of the four rules of St. Augustin, St. Benedict, St. Bernard, or St. Francis. These orders had been greatly multiplied. Till the twelfth century, the ecclesiastical functions, instructing the people and the celebration of the mysteries, had been exclusively entrusted to the clergy, either dispersed throughout the country, at the head of parishes, or united in towns, into colleges of regular or secular canons, under the hierarchical government of bishops. Monks, however, at that period, abounded in Europe; but, being destined to the laborious, ascetic life, they discharged both employments; edifying the people by their regularity, and setting them an example of industry, by cultivating the land, and immense districts which had never been improved by the art of agriculture. A taste for letters began also to be introduced into the great monasteries, to which the principal nobility, and even princes, went to procure instruction. The mother hives, if I may be allowed the expression, sent out numerous swarms into every quarter. Several villages or towns, and even cities, are indebted for their origin to the

assemblages of people collected around abbeys by the celebration of festivals.

These monks ought not to be confounded with the religious orders which appeared about the twelfth century. The greater part did not confine themselves to a contemplative life and manual labour. They took a share in the ministry, and became the auxiliary troops of the clergy in preaching, and in the administration of the sacraments. The regularity of the disciples of St. Francis, their sobriety, and their disinterestedness, procured them veneration from the people, while the Dominicans were held in great esteem on account of their talents in the pulpit. Celebrated doctors were produced in both these orders. Several of them were admitted into the sacred college and decorated with the tiara. At the conclusion of the council of Trent, there were several general orders, each containing several members, who distinguished themselves in that assembly by their learning and eloquence.

We must not forget the Jesuits, who, though of no great antiquity, were already widely dispersed. Various circumstances contributed to their increase. Being engaged in the education of youth, they were enabled to procure new members, and as they knew them from their infancy their choice was not directed by chance: they selected those whom they found endowed with most ge-



nus, fitness for the sciences, or particular talents, calculated to procure most glory to the order. By the belles-lettres, in which they distinguished themselves, they acquired universal esteem. The missions which they undertook carried their credit and reputation throughout the whole world; and their particular vow of attachment to the holy see, and their obedience to the pope, induced the sovereign pontiffs to interest themselves for their aggrandisement. They became a colossus, and every colossus is threatened with ruin and in danger of falling. Pius V. the successor of Pius IV. made great use of them, when he endeavoured to induce the catholic states to receive the canons concerning discipline. Those who adopted them did so only with explanations or restrictions, capable of confining the pretensions of the church of Rome. Pius V. however, persisted in maintaining them. He was the author of the famous bull, *in cæna Domini*, read every year on holy Thursday, which declares as excommunicated all those princes who attack the privileges of the church. He created, by his own authority, Cosmo of Medici grand duke of Tuscany, notwithstanding the protests of the emperor; excited embarrassments to queen Elizabeth, and formed a league against the Turks. He had the pleasure of learning that they were beat at the famous battle of Lepanto. However devout the life of Pius V. may have been, the people of Rome rejoiced at his death,

on account of the rigour and severity of the inquisition. He has been rendered celebrated by the regularity of his life. He was free from avarice as well as every selfish view, and never indulged a thought of enriching his own family.

Gregory  
XIII. 1572.

His successor, Gregory XIII. endeavoured to revive the war against the Turks. He was a most zealous enemy of the protestants; encouraged the war against them in the Low Countries, approved the massacre of St. Bartholomew in France, and supported the conspiracies against Elizabeth. In all this, it is said, he acted only as a public character, being obliged by his office to make a shew of supporting the principles he professed. As a private man he was mild, humane, and a friend to peace. One would hardly believe that such dissimulation, such an outward appearance so opposite to one's real character were possible, did we not find an instance of it in his successor.

Sixtus V.  
1581.

The history of Sixtus V. shews what a man of merit may expect in a country where the government is elective. He was the son of an humble peasant, in such poor circumstances, that being unable to educate his son, he found himself obliged to hire him to an inhabitant of the same village, to look after his sheep and his swine. One day, while wandering about through the fields with his flocks, a Franciscan, who happened to pass, asked him the way to a neighbouring town. The young swine-herd not only told him,

but continued to follow him, notwithstanding his remonstrances. While they were on the road, the Franciscan was so struck by the acute answers he gave to the questions asked him, that he presented him to the guardian of his convent, as worthy of being admitted into the order. He was first employed in such petty domestic offices as he was capable of performing. He received the habit of a lay-brother; but instead of confining himself to the functions of his state, he introduced himself into the classes, and shewed such an attachment to study, that he was made to apply to the sciences.

He became professor, doctor, and preacher; and passed successively through all the dignities of his order, but not without opposition; as, besides being persecuted through envy, which is always an attendant of shining success, he excited a great number of enemies by his imperious and revengeful disposition. These talents, however, procured him powerful friends without the precincts of the cloister. Paul IV. an austere man, who loved his severity, appointed him to be inquisitor-general at Venice. This office he exercised in so harsh and disgusting a manner, as to call forth the animadversion of the senate. Pius V. by whom he was protected also, when only cardinal, on becoming pope made him general of his order, then bishop and cardinal, and gave him a handsome pension to support his dignity.



He assumed the name of cardinal de Montalto, which was that of a castle in the marquisate of Ancona, near the small village of Grotte, the place of his birth. Montalto, when he attained to this splendid dignity, involved himself, as we may say, in obscurity; led a most retired life; attended only to works of piety; seldom appeared at conciliatories, and affected to be so broken down and infirm, that he excited the pity of all those who beheld him. In this state of constraint he lived fifteen years.

In the conclave, which was held after the death of Gregory XIII. he interfered in no intrigue, and he scarcely even countenanced the steps taken in his favour. "I will not accept," said he to the cardinals who were endeavouring to raise him to the papal chair, "but on condition that you govern for me." During the election, he frequently coughed, and in a remote corner shed tears as if some misfortune had befallen him. He however, counted the votes with great attention. Finding that he had more than one half, this pretended old man, who was only sixty-four, came forwards from his place, threw aside his crutch, and appeared to have become a foot taller. The cardinals were astonished at this sudden metamorphosis; and the dean cried out that there was a mistake in the ballot. No exclaimed, "Montalto," in a tone still louder, "the ballot is right." He then thundered forth the *Te Deum*

with a voice which made the whole place resound, and assumed the title of Sixtus V.

When the pope went in procession to the church of St. Peter to be enthroned, the people, as much surpris'd as the cardinals, did not know the infirm and decrepid Montalto. They exclaimed, according to the usual custom: "Holy father! "Abundance and justice?" "Abundance!" replied he; "to obtain that, pray to God; and I shall give you justice." He, indeed, kept his word; no pope ever exercised it with more severity, and Rome had need of it; for the utmost licentiousness prevailed in the ecclesiastical states. Sixtus published rigorous laws, and caused them to be strictly observed. Instead of liberating, at his coronation, the criminals detained in prison, according to the custom of his predecessors, he caused four of the most guilty to be executed, which spread consternation among all the banditti. The environs of Rome were infested with robbers. Sixtus promised a free pardon to all those who might surrender themselves within three months, beyond which period there could be no hope of mercy. He offered also five hundred crowns to those who should deliver up any of their accomplices; and, at the same time, issued an express order prohibiting all persons, without exception, to have the least correspondence with them; to sell or give them provisions; to afford them shelter, or supply them with clothes, under pain of being

sent to the galleys, hanged, or even broke on the wheel. In less than six months, all these banditti were either taken or disappeared.

If there be any thing reprehensible in the sinister means which Sixtus V. employed to obtain the sovereign power, the use which he made of it must, however, be commended. He suppressed mendicity; abolished all privileges hurtful to good order; embellished the city, supplied it with fountains; raised obelisks; built bridges, churches, palaces, and hospitals, and added splendour to the famous library of the Vatican. He had well disciplined troops, and caused the strong places on his frontiers to be fortified. He maintained spies in every court of Europe; and was thoroughly acquainted with the secret policy of the different cabinets. He cannot be blamed for having educated his sister's son, especially as he deserved it. Why should a man, who is indebted for his good fortune only to himself, be prevented from sharing it with his family? He, however, did not suffer himself to be governed.

Neither his opinions nor the spirit of the state, prevented him from rendering justice to those who professed sentiments contrary to his own. He publicly shewed his esteem for queen Elizabeth, Jean queen of Navarre, the mother of Henry IV. for that young prince, and for Condé, his cousin, who not satisfied with braving his excommunication, had the audacity to cause their protest to



be fixed up at the gates of the Vatican. He, indeed, protected the leaguers of France, as long as they had at their head the duke and cardinal de Guise; but the death of the chiefs made him foresee the decline of the party, and he had at least become indifferent in regard to the league when he died, leaving an immense treasure, notwithstanding his magnificent expences.

Four popes ascended the throne in the course of two years: Urban VII. who was not even crowned; Gregory XIV. who reigned only ten months, and who in a little time expended almost all the wealth accumulated by Sixtus V. to the benefit of the league of France; Innocent IV. who enjoyed the papal chair but a few months, and Clement VIII. who likewise declared himself for the league. He, however, gave absolution to Henry IV. and annulled his marriage with Margaret de Valois. Clement VIII. saw the commencement of those disputes respecting grace and free will, which gave birth to the Molinists and Jansenists. He shewed himself little disposed to favour the Jesuits, who supported their brother Molinos. Their adversaries were the Dominicans. After the death of Clement, they endeavoured to place one of their own order in the pontifical chair, but the faction did not succeed. Leo XI. who came after Clement, lived only twenty days. The jesuitical faction then resumed courage, and brought forwards among the

Urban VII.

1590.

Gregory

XIV. 1590.

Innocent IV.

1591.

Clement

VIII. 1592.

Leo XI.

1605.

candidates the Jesuit Baronius, a man of great merit. Almost all the voices were united in his favour, and he was on the point of carrying his election, when suddenly, and as if by inspiration, the suffrages were directed towards cardinal Borghese.

Paul V.

1605.

Gregory XV.

1621.

He assumed the name of Paul V. His pontificate is celebrated by the quarrel between him and the republic of Venice, which he excommunicated; but this republic, possessed of more firmness than many potentates, compelled the pope to withdraw his anathemas. Henry IV. was mediator in this accommodation. The theological disputes, in regard to grace, were revived with animosity under the reign of Paul V. but he imposed silence on the combatants, till he should come to a decision, which never appeared. Paul V. was not fond of business. He was lazy, through attachment to his own ease, and never emerged from his indolence but on days of solemnity, which he was as fond of as of good cheer. His subjects, during his reign, enjoyed peace and tranquillity. They had the same advantage under Gregory XV. his successor, who having been educated among the Jesuits, shewed great attachment to that order. On the other hand, he had a kind of horror for the protestants. He was a man of learning, and left behind him several works.

His successor Urban VIII. added to science a taste for the belles-lettres. He was accounted one of the best Latin and Italian poets of his time. His poetical talents were never exercised, but on pious subjects. Being formed for that tranquillity so agreeable to men of letters, he had the mortification of seeing his own disturbed by the attacks which doctor Richer made in France on the temporal authority of the popes. Urban, it appears, greatly wished that these points had never been submitted to discussion, and that they had been suffered to sleep, as he was himself disposed not to revive them.

Urban VIII.  
1623.

The reign of his successor, Innocent X. was spent in intrigues between his sister-in-law Olimpia, and that woman's daughter-in-law, the princess de Rossano, who each, in turn, assumed an exclusive ascendancy over the mind of the feeble pontiff. The instability of his character is remarked also in his conduct towards the family of the Barberias, whom he disgraced, ruined, and obliged to fly, though he afterwards recalled them, received them into his favour, and honoured them with his confidence.

Innocent X.  
1644.

Cardinal de Retz has said of Alexander VII. his successor, that "his weakness in great things" was proportioned to his attachment for little "things." He had shewn much austerity before his pontificate, and he retained it for some time after. He continued to fast, and dismissed from

Alexander VII. 1655.  
Clement IX. 1667.



his palace those females who had frequented it too much under his predecessor; but he soon abandoned himself to luxury and good cheer, which were suited neither to his age nor his condition. The disciples of Jansenius, whom he condemned by a bull, have on this account reproached him with great asperity. Clement IX. who ascended the papal throne after him, did not govern so much himself, though possessed of talents, as Cardinal Chigi, to whom he thought he had been indebted for the tiara, which he wore only two years. He is said to have been pious and charitable. Excessive intemperance at table, which was habitual to him, and which he was so weak as to indulge in through ostentation, conveyed him suddenly to his grave.

Clement X.  
1670.  
Innocent  
XI. 1676.

He was succeeded by Clement X. who reigned six years, and governed also by a cardinal, whom he had adopted. This state of dependance, however, was sometimes irksome to him, but he shewed it to his minister rather too late. Being urged by him, during his last illness, to do a thing contrary to his inclination, he replied: "You ought to be satisfied with having been pope for six years; allow me to be so only for six hours. His successor, Innocent XI. was modest, fond of retirement, and economical, perhaps, beyond measure, because the mediocrity of his train banished splendour from his court, and kept at a

distance the Roman nobility, to the great detriment of the people.

In his time appeared *quietism* and *molinosism*, a kind of spirituality dangerous, on account of of the consequences, which might be deduced from it, and which might conduct to libertinism: for to captivate the mind by *intuition* of the deity in such a manner, that being absorbed in abstract reflections, it can take no part in the movements of the body, is declaring the devotee innocent of irregularities, and encouraging him to indulge in them. These licentious consequences were not clearly displayed in the works of Molinos; but they necessarily follow from his principles. It was with great difficulty he could be condemned. His system found defenders, who must be excused, on account of their good intentions.

Alexander VIII. the successor of Innocent, sat in the papal chair only two years. Being extremely old, he hastened to enrich his family. When reproached on this account, he replied: "Oh! Oh! It is twenty-three hours and a half."

Innocent XII. who followed him, behaved in a manner entirely different. He declared himself an enemy to *nepotism*, and issued against that practice a bull, which he caused to be signed by all the cardinals. It fixed, at a very moderate sum, the provision which the most indifferent popes could make for their nephews. Quietism also, which was revived under the protection of

Alexander  
VIII. 1689.  
Innocent  
XII. 1691.

a very respectable prelate, gave him some trouble. The docility of Fenelon, and his submission to the bull, which stigmatized his book, entitled *The Maxims of the Saints*, banished that system, which might have deceived weak and devout minds.

Clement  
XI. 1700.

Clement XI. exhibited a rare instance of modesty, as he refused the tiara for three days, and with difficulty yielded to the urgent solicitations of the sacred college. His pontificate is famous for two acts of a contradictory nature in regard to the Jesuits: the condemnation of the Chinese ceremonies, which they feared, and that of father Quefnel, which they desired. Is grace efficacious of itself? In what manner, and to what extent? Is it in virtue of foreseen merit or demerit that God predestinates to glory or punishment? How can man be a free agent with that impulse which can never fail of its effect? Such were the abstract questions, which ought never to have issued from the schools.

Innocent  
XIII. 1721.  
Benedict  
XIII. 1724.  
Clement  
XII. 1730.  
Benedict  
XIV. 1740.

They, however, engaged the ablest men of Europe, and excited troubles in the church, not only under Clement XI. but also under his successors Innocent XIII. Benedict XIII. and Clement XII. Benedict XIV. was desirous of suffering them to fall into oblivion. He laboured on this subject with some princes, whose intention was as good as his own, but without success. The obstinacy of the theologues always prevailed



over all his measures of prudence. This obstinacy was ascribed to the Jesuits, who had called forth the famous bull *unigenitus*, the acceptance of which, required or rejected, had almost occasioned a schism in the church of France.

Clement XIII. maintained this tottering society, attacked in every part of the world; but Clement XIV. gave it a mortal blow by his bull of the 23d of January 1773, which abolished for ever that institution. It has been said, that it was with this view, that the catholic princes procured for him the tiara. He was transferred from the cell of a cordelier to the palace of the sovereign pontiffs, and he retained on the throne that spirit of singularity by which he had been distinguished in the cloister. He was reserved, melancholy, and misanthropic. Those, however, who had an opportunity of entertaining him, regretted that he did not oftener condescend to mingle with society. He led a recluse, solitary life, as if uneasy, and a slave to precautions, which, it is said, did not shelter him from poison.

Clement  
XIII. 1756.  
Clement  
XIV. 1769.

Pius VI. raised to the papal chair at a period of difficulty, when sovereigns, as if leagued, were attacking on all sides the privileges and the riches of the clergy, combatted for this valuable patrimony during his whole reign; not by acts of violence, excommunication, and anathemas, for these arms were no longer dreaded, but by pacific negotiations, well managed; complacency and gen-

Pius VI.  
1775.

the insinuation, which sometimes succeeded. Pius VI. found himself exposed to the misfortunes of that war by which Italy was ravaged, and he saw Rome abjure the papal power, and erect itself into a republic.

Savoy, between Piedmont, the Valais, Swisserland, the Rhone, Dauphiny, and Provence. Piedmont, between Savoy, Montferat, the Maritime Alps, and the Thesin. Sardinia, between Corsica, Italy, Barbary, and Spain.

**SAVOY.**

SAVOY is full of mountains, which though not fruitful in corn, are covered with rich pastures. On the summits of some of these mountains the snow and ice never melt. The game is excellent, and fresh water fish are abundant. Nature, exceedingly variegated in Savoy, indemnifies the traveller for the uniformity of the immense plains of Piedmont; but the fertility of the latter fully compensates the pleasure experienced on beholding the romantic and picturesque beauties of the former. There are found in the territories of the duke of Savoy, forests, lakes, fountains, cascades, rivers, torrents, grottoes, towering rocks with gentle and verdant declivities. The most pleasant part is the county of Nice, on the Mediterranean, where the severity of winter is never felt. It enjoys pure air, a serene sky, and an almost continual spring. The Savoyards are an industrious people. They are fond of their own country, which they never leave, but to lay under contribution, by their labour, the neighbouring

countries, and they always return to their own with new joy. They are celebrated for their attachment to their princes.

Piedmont supplies nourishment to a considerable number of oxen. The inhabitants carry on a great trade in silk, which is the best in Italy. Sardinia gives to the duke of Savoy the title of king. The air of this island, in the time of the Romans was accounted unhealthy, and therefore they banished thither such persons as they wished to get soon rid off. On account, however, of the improved state of cultivation, or of other physical causes, no traces of this insalubrity are at present observed. The inhabitants are a mixture, or rather a remnant of those nations by whom this island has been successively inhabited: Carthaginians, Romans, Vandals, Moors, Pisans, and Genoese. It is governed by a viceroy. We must here remark that the king of Sardinia, whose states are the least extensive among those of all the crowned heads of Europe, has three capitals: Cagliari in Sardinia, Chambery in Savoy, and Turin in Piedmont.

The principal inhabitants of Savoy, in the time of the Romans, were known under the name of the Allobroges. They occupied that part of the Alps which the Romans themselves called the citadel of Italy, because it was the best rampart they had to secure them against the invasions of the western nations, and particularly the Gauls.



As the sea by its flux and reflux leaves collections of water in the cavities which it fills and then abandons, in the like manner the flux and reflux of nations, over that enormous chain of rocks extending from the coast of Genoa to the Gulph of Venice, must have left in the vallies some tribes, who escaped that kind of inundation which overturned the Roman empire.

We have scarcely any knowledge of what took place among these rocks till towards the middle of the eight century. About the year 750, we find a certain count de Maurienne, who extended his dominion over the petty states by which he was surrounded. History, however, is silent for nearly three hundred years, and about 1000 brings to view an Ameus, count of Savoy, a relation of the emperor Otho III. It is believed that this Saxon was the chief of that race who at present sway the sceptre of the Alps. This Ameus was accounted the mildest and most generous sovereign of his time; worthy of being a branch of a family, who of all those who ever bore a crown, have distinguished themselves by the beneficent virtues, without neglecting the military. Their title then was that of the counts de Maurienne; they were afterwards counts, and at last dukes of Savoy.

Some fabulous exploits are related of Bertold, the son of Ameus; but the annals of this country begin to assume an air of probability under Hubert I. his son, a great warrior, who died about

1048. He received from his father the example of making pious foundations, which he transmitted to his descendants, with great respect for the principles and practices of religion. At that period these princes assumed only the title of counts. Amadeo, Hubert's eldest son, celebrated by his bravery and magnificence, died without children, and left his county to his brother Otho, who added to his first title that of Marquis of Italy. Being more successful by marriage than his predecessors had been by their arms, he received as dowery with Adelaide, heiress of Suza, the duchy of Turin, the valley of Aosta, and several estates and castles on the coast of Genoa.

His son, Amadeo II. enjoyed in peace with his mother the beautiful domains she had added to Savoy, but he died before her. On the death of this princess, her grandson, Hubert II. had to defend his rights against the husbands of his sisters, who pretended to a share of his succession. Except a few appendages, it was adjudged entirely to Hubert, in virtue of the Salic law, to which Savoy was subject; but with this proviso, that if the male line should fail, the daughters might inherit. Hubert left his son, Amadeo III. a minor, under the guardianship of his mother, who afterwards married the marquis of Montferat. When he came of age, the father-in-law and son-in-law both assumed the cross; but the eastern climate, with the fatigues of the

Amadeo II.  
1046.  
Hubert II.  
1072.  
Amadeo  
III. 1102.  
Hubert  
III. 1148.

journey, threw the prince into a disease, of which he died while on his return. He left a son, named Hubert III. who by remaining at home in his own dominions, rendered his subjects happy, causing justice to be strictly administered; never taking up arms but when forced, and laying them aside as soon as he could bring his enemies to equitable terms; and by discharging in an exemplary manner the duties of religion, he acquired the title of Saint. He appeared oftener in the habit of a Cistercian monk than with the badges of his sovereignty. This devotion did not seem extraordinary at that period. He could reconcile the monastic dress with a taste for marriage. He had four wives, the third of whom only brought him a successor.

Thomas I.  
1188.  
Amadeo  
IV. 1233.  
Boniface,  
1253.  
Peter, 1293.

Thomas being left an infant, was placed under the guardianship of Boniface, marquis of Montferat, his relation. Thomas saw the commencement of the wars between Savoy and Dauphiny. Though a warrior, he augmented his states not so much by his arms, as the pliability of his character, and the address with which he procured himself friends in the imperial court. By these means he obtained many concessions in Piedmont, as well as on the coasts of Genoa and Provence. His eldest son Amadeo IV. profited by the talents of his father. He had a great preponderance in Italy. His son Boniface maintained it by his distinguished valour; but fortune abandoned him



before the walls of Turin, which had revolted. He was taken prisoner by the garrison during a sortie. Grieved to find himself a captive in the hands of his subjects, who refused to set him at liberty, he died of a broken heart. He was succeeded by his grand-uncle Peter, the son of Thomas I. who avenged the death of his predecessor; but only by subduing Turin, without inflicting severe punishment on the inhabitants. Peter pretended to some proprietary right over Geneva; but he contented himself with receiving homage from the county of that city. This prince is named by historians the wise, prudent, discreet, and circumspect. In his youth he had lived in retirement and devoted to study, yet this taste did not prevent him from displaying eminent virtues on the throne.

His brother, Philip, began in the same manner, by a retired life, occupied with ecclesiastical duties, as he had embraced that profession. He left it, as is said, through ambition, when he saw himself likely to succeed his brother, and entered into the state of marriage. Whatever may have been the motive which induced him to renounce his first condition, he was a good prince, and never suffered his possessions to be invaded by those neighbours who thought to profit by his inexperience. He rendered his people happy. Peter, having no children, called to the throne, after him, Amadeo V. his nephew, who, by his valour and suc-

Philip.  
1268.  
Amadeo V.  
1285.  
Edward,  
1323.  
Aymon,  
1329.

cess, acquired the appellation of Great, and he really was so, whether at the head of his armies or the helm of government. Amadeo established the power of his family, extended the frontiers of his states, and was a mediator and arbiter among his neighbours. Being respected throughout all Christendom, he rendered himself famous, also, among the infidels, by his victories over the Moors and Saracens. His son, Edward, has been surnamed the Liberal. Wars, maintained with bravery, but not with the prudence and success of his father, changed the prosperous situation of Savoy. He left it weaker but more flourishing to his son, Aymon. The surname of Pacific, which the latter acquired by his merit, indicates his prevailing virtue; but he did not carry it so far as to shun war, when the interest of his states required it. The sovereign of Dauphiny, a perpetual rival of that of Savoy, experienced the force of his arms. Aymon is blamed for having been too much addicted to women. This is the first instance of history reproaching the counts of Savoy with any fault; not that they were without faults, for what man, and particularly what prince, is exempted from them, but it appears that they covered them with their estimable qualities, in such a manner that they are no longer remembered.

Amadeo  
VI. 1343.

Amadeo VI. has been surnamed Count Verd, because he was particularly fond of that colour,

under which he had gained the prize at a famous tournament. He had the mortification of seeing Dauphiny pass into the hands of the king of France, by which means he acquired a more dangerous neighbour than he had found in the Dauphins. In vain did he try to determine in his favour the Dauphin, Hubert, who being childless was looking out, as we may say, for a master to his states. An ancient rivalry, which prevailed between the houses of Dauphiny and Savoy, prevented Amadeo from obtaining the preference. This was the only one of all his enterprises which did not succeed. None of his predecessors had acquired so much glory. He is styled by historians, The protector of the holy see, the defender of the church, the firmest support of the imperial power, the friend and avenger of unfortunate princes, the counsellor and mediator of sovereigns and monarchs. These titles are the more glorious, as they cost nothing to his people. He was always at war, and his states were always in peace. He extended his frontiers considerably towards the Valais and Piedmont. To complete his glory, he assisted the emperors of Constantinople, as he supported those of Germany. His glorious arms raised up in Asia, as well as in Europe, reversed thrones.

It is difficult for a son to acquire great reputation after such a father. Amadeo VII. was also courted by neighbouring as well as by distant

Amadeo  
VII. 1382.  
Amadeo  
VIII. 1394.



princes. Warlike, without being burthenfome to his states, the mildnefs and moderation of his government procured to him the valley of Barcelonetta, Nice, and Ventimiglia, which were voluntarily ceded to him. He has been called count Rouge, from the colour of his hair. He left a fon, eight years of age. The regency gave occafion to a violent quarrel, between Bonne de Berri, the grandmother of Amadeo VIII. and Bonne de Bourbon, his mother. The nobility were divided between the two Bonnes. The mother, however, was fuccefsful, and governed with advantage to the people. This prince enlarged his fates by the county of Geneva and feveral diftricts in la Bresse and Bugey. He had a fhare in all the important tranfactions of his time. It is obferved, that amidft the occupations of government, for which he was well qualified, being a brave warrior, an able negotiator, a profound politician, a vigilant and juft prince, he prepared for himfelf a retreat, not only to relieve his mind from the cares of fovereignty, but that he might forget them and withdraw from the reftRAINT and fplendour of his greatnefs.

This place, which neither fatigue, pomp, nor constraint, was ever to approach, is a delightful valley, named Ripaille, near Tonon, the capital of the Chablais. Amadeo conceived the ftrange project of governing his fates by abdicating the fovereignty, but in fuch a manner that, while he

gave up the drudgery, he should retain the superintendence. The death of his wife enabled him to execute his plan, notwithstanding the youth of his son, whom he did not consider an obstacle, as he intended still to act as his guardian. When fully resolved, Amadeo instituted an order of chivalry, under the invocation of St. Maurice, the patron of Savoy. He composed it of six gentlemen, who had grown old at the head of armies, and in the management of public business. Their chief was established under the name of Dean; and each of them was to have a separate apartment, near the convent of the hermits of St. Augustin, which he had founded. Their habit was a robe of grey cloth, with a cowl of the same. Their beards and hair were long. Instead of a cane, they were furnished with a knotty stick, the head of which resembled that of a pilgrim's staff; and each wore, suspended from his neck, a cross of gold. Every week, certain days were to be consecrated to solitude, and others to the business of the state. The dean and the six knights were bound, without any vow, to the strictest continence. When every thing was ready, Amadeo convoked at Ripaille an assembly of the prelates and chief nobility of his states. After a speech, full of wise instruction, he created his son a chevalier, declared him prince of Piedmont, and committed to him the lieutenant-generalship of the government.

This man, however, so regardless of grandeur, and such an enemy to embarrassment, accepted the popedom, under the name of Felix, at a time when it could be only a burthen, on account of the schism, by which the church was then torn, and he even did not resign it, but on conditions which shewed that he was still attached to splendour and power. We do not find, that he absolutely renounced the sovereignty of his states, nor the title of duke of Savoy. It only appears, that he took little concern in the government. Historians do not make the reign of his son, Louis, begin till the moment of his father's death. This event was preceded by some journies to Ripaille, that humble retreat, which he had quitted for the pomp of the holy see. Some malignant authors pretend, that works of piety were not the chief occupation of the dean and his knights. This opinion was so generally diffused, that to express making good cheer, it is still said, *faire Ripaille*. Amadeo VIII. was called the Solomon of his age. In confirming to him this appellation, it must be allowed, that the wisest men have their moments of folly.

Louis. 1457.

His son Louis was exposed to domestic broils, as his attachment to a favourite excited some discontent. One of his sons put himself at the head of the disaffected party; but the father soon got rid of him by the assistance and artifices of Louis XI. king of France. This monarch had



married a daughter of Louis of Savoy. The French monarch, at the request of his father-in-law, invited the brother-in-law to his court, and caused him to be confined in the castle of Loche. These discontents arose from the ascendancy which he suffered Anne of Cyprus, his second spouse, to assume over him: an ascendancy in some measure excusable, as she had brought a kingdom for a dowery; was the most beautiful princess of her time, and possessed a great deal of sense and judgment.

The surname of Happy has been given to his son and successor, Amadeo IX. This title relates to the other world, and not to the present; for we cannot ascribe happiness in this world to a prince who had such dreadful fits of epilepsy, that he was judged incapable of governing. The regency was disputed by his three brothers and Yolanda of France, sister of Louis XI. his spouse, but the princess obtained it, by the assistance of her brother. Amadeo IX. possessed all the virtues of a respectful individual: affability, and above all, great charity. He not only founded hospitals, but during a period of scarcity he sold even the collar of his order. "I do not see your pack of hounds," said the duke of Milan, who had one day come to visit him. "I will shew you them," replied Amadeo, and immediately conducted him to an apartment of his palace occupied by poor old men, whom he

Amadeo IX.  
1465.

maintained. He was one of the handsomest men in his state. His virtue and graces made Yolanda forgive his infirmities. He had nine children by her.

Philibert I.  
1479

At his death, the regency ought to have been retained by Yolanda, because Philibert I. the eldest of the sons whom he left, was only seven years of age. She already possessed that power, having obtained it by the protection of Louis XI. but the interests were now changed. The monarch dreaded the attachment which he supposed his sister had for the party of the duke of Burgundy, his enemy; and for that reason he protected her no farther than to prevent her from being entirely supplanted by his brother-in-law, and to preserve her in a state of dependence. This protection was sometimes so ineffectual, that the regent saw her son carried away by her brothers-in-law, and that even she herself was made prisoner. Louis XI. released her when his interest required that she should be set at liberty, and put her in possession of the supreme authority, on terms which made her subservient to his will. When she died, the French monarch openly assumed the regency, which he had long been desirous of obtaining. During these intrigues, young Philibert was engaged with tournaments and other amusements, on account of which he has been surnamed the Hunter. These violent ex-

ercises, to which he abandoned himself with all the ardour of youth, shortened his days. He died, without children, at the age of seventeen.

Though his brother, Charles I. was only fourteen, he directed the reins of government with so much ability, that no one perceived they were held by an infant. At the age of inexperience he shewed consummate wisdom, with a great deal of affability, and a firmness, free from pride, calculated to keep in awe the neighbouring princes, who imagined they might profit by his youth. He was fond of reading, and of the conversation of the learned. The Greek and Latin languages were familiar to him. His court was a school of morality and virtue. It will be saying enough in its praise to observe that Bayard, the knight without fear and without reproach, was educated in it. A weakness of constitution, which brought on a premature death, hurried him to his grave at the age of twenty-one, to the great disappointment of the hopes of his subjects. He left a son who was only nine months old. The regency was contested with Blanche of Montferat, his mother. She, however, obtained it, and notwithstanding her youth, shewed herself worthy of the trust; but she lost her son, at the age of eight, by an accident. He was named Charles John Amadeo.

Charles I.  
1482.  
Charles John  
Amadeo.  
1489.



Philip II.

1496.

Philibert II.

1497.

He was succeeded by his grand-uncle Philip II. count of Bresse, the son of duke Louis, and the same prince whom Louis XI. had caused to be confined in the castle of Loches, for rebelling against his father. His violent and impetuous temper was softened by his confinement. His brother Amadeo, the Happy, who procured his deliverance, had always reason to be satisfied with his fidelity; but Philip did not fail to embrace the first opportunity of gratifying his revenge on Louis XI. For that purpose he joined the malcontents of France, and took up arms against the king. Afterwards, however, he became the general of that monarch, who employed abilities wherever he found them. Count de Bresse seemed ambitious of becoming regent during the infancy of his two nephews, Philibert I. and Charles I. but he never shewed any desire for invading the throne. When the death of the latter allowed him to place himself on it, he carried with him a high reputation acquired by his bravery and military talents. He displayed also the generosity of his character, by the manner in which he treated the great who had been his opponents. Philip not only forgave them, but conferred favours on them without distinction, when they deserved them. He was not long suffered to exhibit to the world these valuable qualities, being carried off by death in the second year of his

reign. His son and successor Philibert II. reigned seven years. He died in consequence of excessive fatigue when hunting. He was called the Handsome, and left no children.

His brother, Charles III. who followed, was furnished the Good. He lived during a period of misfortune, being pressed, as in a vice, between Charles V. and Francis I. That he might remain at peace, he tried all the resources of negociation, but in vain; for these princes would not suffer him to be neuter, and in turns invaded his states. When he died, nothing was left to him but the valley of Aosta, and the county of Ostia, together with Nice, and a few other towns. It is agreed that he was hurried to the grave by sorrow, which carried thither also Beatrix of Portugal, his wife.

Charles III.  
1564.

Charles's great fault was that of wavering between two parties, and of suffering himself to be attracted sometimes by the one, and sometimes by the other. Emanuel Philibert, his son, observed an opposite conduct, and observed it with constancy, for which reason he has been called Iron Head. At the age of ten, he gave a proof of firmness which announced what he was likely to become at some future period. Pope Paul III. was desirous of getting possession of the castle of Nice, where Emanuel resided with his governor. The latter seemed irresolute, and the garrison began to shew symptoms of disaffection, when the

Emanuel  
Philibert.  
1533.

young prince said with a firm tone, "There is no room for deliberation. Neither the pope nor any other sovereign must be permitted to enter the citadel were I am." His advice was followed, and the pope's quarter-masters, who were already marking out lodgings for the troops, retired.

During the remainder of his life, he was equally firm and decisive. Sometimes he found himself on the point of becoming a victim to his constancy in his alliances. He had attached himself to the party of Charles V. That prince made peace, and, as a monarch, being far superior to a duke of Savoy, he forgot Emanuel, and abdicated. By these means the duke was deprived of all hope of recovering his states; but he was not disconcerted by this untoward circumstance. He remained unshaken in his engagements; triumphed over every obstacle, and saw his states, at length, restored to him by the peace of Cateau-Cambresis, which gave him for his spouse Margaret of France, the daughter of Henry II.

Emanuel exerted himself to repair, by a wise administration, the evils which the war had occasioned to his states. Either through religious zeal, or to re-establish catholicism at Geneva, he attempted to get possession of that city. He gave out that these were his motives when the enterprise failed. Emanuel had a singular dread of the new doctrine, and of the divisions which it



might introduce into his states. He armed against the sectaries; but he did not exercise towards them the same atrocities as were employed in France. This prince, so insignificant in comparison of the emperor and the king of France, endeavoured to make himself be courted, and to send them important succours against their disunited subjects. He assisted the Venetians also against the Turks.

This duke is the first who established in his states a national militia. He watched over the administration of justice; regulated the finances, and died covered with glory. He was the handsomest man of his time. By the quality of his mistresses, all women of high rank, it may be readily judged that love directed his passion. He had only one son by Margaret of France, his spouse. "The tenth muse, the mother of the graces, the flower of Margarets, the pearl of the French, the heart of charity." Such were the epithets bestowed upon her by the poets in the effusions of their enthusiasm. History, less florid in its style, will only say that she was extremely beautiful; that besides her own language, the Latin, Greek, Spanish, and Italian, were familiar to her; and that she participated with her husband in a taste for the arts, the belles-letters and the sciences. His transient amours by no means injured the invariable passion which he entertained for her.

Charles F.  
manuel I.  
1580.

The first measure of Charles Emanuel, his son, was a new enterprize against Geneva, which miscarried. His second enterprize was the invasion of the marquisate of Saluces, which, on account of the troubles of France, was attended with success. The duke of Savoy took advantage of the distracted state of that kingdom, to enter Provence, where he caused himself to be acknowledged as sovereign, in an assembly held at Aix. But the ability of Lesdiguières prevented his success from being lasting and decisive. That general made him even tremble for Piedmont. During the distress of Henry IV. Charles Emanuel might have acquired firm possession of the marquisate of Saluces, or might have obtained other advantages; but he had not the foresight necessary for that purpose, and when the French monarch overcame the league, he insisted on restitution.

After having vigorously defended his usurpations by arms, Charles Emanuel, sensible of his weakness, descended to negotiation, and believed he should succeed by conducting it himself. Henry gave him a gracious reception at his court, and loaded him with honours; but without relaxing in his demands. The duke, therefore, gained nothing by his journey, but the melancholy pleasure of leaving to the king a source of uneasiness in a conspiracy, of which he was

he soul, and of which Biron was the victim. When he returned to Savoy, he vented his spleen on Geneva, which he still wished to surprize; but he again failed with circumstances of humiliation, since some of his officers, taken prisoners during the attack, were punished as banditti. This misfortune, however, did not discourage him. He made a third attempt, without succeeding, and a fourth was equally fruitless.

Being always occupied with plans of aggrandisement, Charles Emanuel kept up a correspondence with Cyprus, in hopes of realising the vain title of king of that island, which he assumed. His intrigues only ended in the ruin of his partisans, and the destruction of the chief men among them, whom the Turks put to death. A faint ray of hope, which he entertained of getting possession of Montserat, a place he had long coveted, made him recommence hostilities, and in these the empire and Italy took a part. They kindled up the flames of war throughout the latter. After much bloodshed, a treaty brought the belligerent powers to the same state as that in which they had been before the commencement of the war.

Charles Emanuel has been called the father of the soldiers. This epithet is just in one sense, as he created a great many; for he always had arms in his hands. He made frequent use also of his pen, as appears by his numerous treatises. He did not deny that little dependance was to be



placed on his word. The Spanish ambassador having one day told him that he was too ready to desert one party for another, the duke made no answer, but shewed him his coat which had two fides. By the affected ambiguities and obscure expressions with which his treaties abound, there is reason to judge, that he was artful rather than political. He was often caught, therefore, in his own nets. Charles Emanuel aimed at every kind of glory, and even that of being an author. We have three works by him: viz. *The Parallels*; a comparison between three princes and princesses of different centuries, whose lives have a striking resemblance; *The Grand Herald*; a collection of the armorial bearings of kings and the most illustrious princes; and, in the last place, *Iconoscomia*; which was intended to be an historical encyclopaedia, with portraits, but it was only begun. He intended also to write his own life, after the model of Cæsar's Commentaries, but he finished nothing more than the heads.

Victor Amadeus I. 1630.  
Francis Hyacinth. 1637.  
Charles Emanuel II. 1638.

As soon as Victor Amadeus, his son, was seated at the helm of government, he found himself at war with France, though married to Christina, sister of Louis XIII. This princess brought about a peace between her husband and brother. The too sudden death of Victor threw Savoy into a state of trouble, during the minority of his two sons, Francis Hyacinth, who only felt the crown, and Charles Emanuel, who was decorated with

it at the age of four. Christina, their mother, was a princess of great prudence and ability; but unfortunately she found herself exposed to the imperious politics of Richelieu, who pretended to an ascendancy over her. Her complacency and evasive conduct obtained nothing from the inexorable will of the cardinal. Either through fear or inclination, it was necessary that every thing should submit to him. The regency was disputed with Christina by her brothers-in-law, under the protection of Spain. The conduct of the French minister, in this affair, seems to have been copied from that of Louis XI. in regard to Yolanda, his sister, on a like occasion. With a view of obtaining complete authority in Savoy, Louis XIII. after involving the tutoresses in a quarrel with her brothers-in-law, refused her any succour, unless she consented to admit French garrisons into her fortresses. The success of the brothers-in-law, obtained through his means, since he did not oppose them in the manner he ought, served as motives for this strange demand, the object of which was nothing less than to deprive the prince of all authority in his finest possessions.

After the death of Richelieu, Christina was no better treated by Mazarine, his successor; but, notwithstanding his artful character, he did not employ the same tergiversation as his predecessor, but openly declared in favour of her brothers-in-law, who were her competitors. The misunder-

standing continued till the majority of Charles Emanuel. The princes hoped that at this period the duke being freed from the tutelage of his mother, they should be able to exercise over him a kind of guardianship, which would give them a share in the authority; but the provident Christina, who was mistress of the mind of her son, lost no part of her power. She formed a council, so well chosen, that she silenced envy and ambition. Her firmness, her magnanimity, her uncommon talents, and her activity, restored Savoy to its ancient splendour, which the misfortunes of the war had tarnished. Charles Emanuel supported the labours of his mother. He was just, pious, wise, and modest, and left behind him also a minority.

Victor A-  
madeus II.  
1675.

Savoy has been fortunate in its regents. Jean of Savoy Nemours, the mother of young Victor Amadeus, rendered her guardianship memorable by the tranquillity which, under her management, the states of her son enjoyed. After her death, this prince found himself involved in the vortex of those wars which ravaged Europe, at the close of the reign of Louis XIV. on account of the the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, which had been given to the duke of Savoy. During this agitation of thrones, the political balance of Europe, at the end of the war, obliged him to accept the crown of Sardinia; a disadvantageous exchange, had it not been attended with peace,



for what is there which ought not to be sacrificed for that blessing? Victor Amadeus employed his days of repose in attending to the cares of government, rendered sweeter by the prosperity of his people. Notwithstanding this agreeable recompense for his trouble, he grew tired of them, and resigned the crown to his son. The code of laws which he published is esteemed.

What happened to this monarch in his retirement might deter princes from entertaining any thoughts of abdication. Victor Amadeus, harassed with the fatigues of government and the restraint of court etiquette, conceived the idea of a happy life in an agreeable retreat with a few select friends, and in the company of a cheerful, agreeable widow, who, though she had lost all taste for the gaieties of early youth, was still in the bloom of life. Such was madame de St. Sebastian. Victor Amadeus gave her the name of the countess of Sommerive, and married her without disclosing his intention to abdicate, which he put in execution a fortnight after.

Charles F.  
manuel III.  
1730.

The son often paid a visit to the father in his retreat. The old man was attacked by a disease which required solitude and repose. A minister, whom the young king had honoured with his confidence contrary to the will of his father, took advantage of this opportunity to make his master less ardent in his filial attachment, lest the old monarch, by the force of sollicitation, should be

able to get him disgraced. He, therefore, surrounded Charles Emanuel with calumniators, who incited suspicions in his mind against his father. They not only pretended that he regretted having quitted the throne, and that he wished to recover it, but that he entertained views still more sinister. They spoke of secret plots to gain over the troops, of orders already given, and of intimacy and conferences with physicians and apothecaries, men formidable sometimes to others besides their patients.

Charles Emanuel, too credulous, immediately took the alarm; consented that his father should be reduced to such a condition, as to be incapable of hurting him; and left the means of doing so to his minister. In the middle of the night, the house in which Victor Amadeus resided, was invested by a body of troops; they entered it by the light of torches, and having broke open the door of his chamber, it was soon filled with soldiers. He was then informed that they had an order from his son to remove him to some other place. As the monarch refused to obey, they hurried him from bed, while clasping his spouse in his arms, and transferred him to a house with latticed windows, which exhibited every appearance of a real prison. His wife they conducted to a fortress, which had before been employed for confining females guilty of irregularities. Some months after she was restored to her husband;

but he never recovered his liberty. Grief affected his health, already deranged. On his death-bed he wished to see his son; but, though he promised not to reproach him for his conduct, the minister apprehending an explanation, had sufficient influence to prevail on Charles Emanuel to deprive his father of that satisfaction. He died a prisoner in 1732. It may be proper here to remark, that he had always treated this son with a great deal of harshness, and did not alter his behaviour after he had placed him on the throne. Can we flatter ourselves that a benefit conferred will procure us love, when we labour, during the whole course of our lives, to make ourselves be dreaded? The conduct of the father, however, does not excuse that of the son; and we should be obliged to conclude the history of a series of sovereigns, so worthy of esteem, with an event disgraceful to the last, were we not able to add, that Charles Emanuel was endowed with those mild and pacific virtues, which contribute to produce domestic as well as public happiness. He died in 1796, soon after he had concluded a treaty with France, by which he ceded to it Savoy, the oldest patrimony of his ancestors, and from which his family derived its name; but carrying with him to the grave the well-founded hope, that the conquerors would procure him an ample indemnification in some other quarter.



## GENOA.

IN kingdoms, the government is conducted by the court and the great: in republics by the people. Hence it happens, that the history of the former presents a series of facts rendered important by the rank and dignity of the personages; while in that of republics, we find nothing but commotions, repeated at certain intervals. We observe there, indeed, traits of heroism, and some of them may be preserved; but the greater part are lost in that crowd which gave them birth. The actors emerging, for a moment, from obscurity, are again involved in it, as soon as that moment is past. In the history of republics, therefore, we must not expect an uninterrupted chain of actions or personages. It will be sufficient to exhibit the genius of the people, together with the causes of their commotions; to select the most striking events of revolutions, according as they occur, separated sometimes by centuries of tranquillity or unimportant agitation; to bring forwards actors, who by their birth seem to have been destined for darkness and oblivion, and who have been rescued from them by their actions, whether good or bad; and in the last place, to trace out a view of the political, warlike, and commercial relations, which have sometimes af-

signed to republics a more distinguished rank among the neighbouring powers, than the former weakness of their means, and the confined state of their territories permitted them to expect.

Without including the Hanse and Imperial towns, which are internally governed as republics, but have not their chief appendages, viz. full sovereignty, the right of peace and war, and absolute independance, there are in Europe seven republics: three great, Venice, Holland, and Swisserland; three small, Geneva, Ragusa, and St. Marino; and one of mean size, viz. Genoa. The capital of the last, celebrated by the magnificence of its buildings, on which account it has been styled the superb, is the centre of the state. It is surrounded, at a small distance, by steep mountains, which serve it as a rampart. This state comprehends a part of the ancient Liguria, and extends along the gulph which it embraces, under the name of *riviere du levant* and *riviere du ponent*. On these coasts there are found ports less capacious, and less secure than those of Genoa; roads, towns much inferior to the capital, and fortresses of great strength, both by their situation and art. The principal territorial riches is oil; to this we may add marble, which is celebrated; but the surest is commerce, which the nobility, in imitation of their ancestors, have so much good sense as not to despise. By its means they maintain their families in opu-

Genoa, between the territories of the king of Sardinia, Parma, Florence, Siena, Milan, and the Gulph of Genoa.

lence. The prevailing religion here is the catholic; but the rest, though the inquisition exists, are not persecuted. The churches are admired, and with great justice, being the most magnificent, the best decorated, and the richest in Christendom. The palaces are all of marble. As they rise in the form of an amphitheatre, when viewed from the sea, they exhibit a most striking spectacle.

The first title which Genoa has to antiquity, but a deplorable title, is that it was burnt by the Carthaginians, to whom it had given umbrage in regard to commerce. The Romans revived it from its ashes, and received the Genoese among the number of their clients. A certain affectation of superiority is observed in a sentence passed a hundred and eighty-seven years before our æra by the Roman magistrates, in consequence of a dispute between the Genoese and their neighbours, respecting boundaries.

Genoa participated, no doubt, in the fate of the ancient Liguria, which formed a passage for the northern barbarians into Italy. It became successively a prey to the Huns, the Gepidæ, the Goths, the Heruli, and the Lombards. Charlemagne subdued it, and Pepin gave it counts. When the family of Charlemagne lost their influence in Italy, Genoa erected itself into a republic, towards the end of the ninth century, or about 888. Its first magistrates, after the destruction of the counts, were consuls. The num



ber of them was not fixed ; but there were different kinds for every part of administration : consuls *de la commune*, consuls *des plaid*, and others.

Genoa, though a republic, has not abstained from conquests. It subdued Corsica, and kept possession of it for some time. In conjunction with the Pisans, who were also republicans, it subdued Sardinia ; but while employing its forces abroad, it was surpris'd, plundered, and burnt, by the Saracens. The two republics expelled them by uniting their forces ; but they did not long continue in friendship. Sardinia, their common conquest, was the cause of their quarrel. They disputed there for possessions which their reciprocal avarice made a bone of contention. They fitted out ships, and cruised along the coasts, to prevent each other from receiving assistance. Between monarchs, wars are attended with less cruelty, because it is very uncommon for whole armies to be inspired with the animosity of their sovereigns ; but they are terrible and merciless between one people and another, because each soldier thinks he sees in the soldier oppos'd to him a personal enemy. Such is the character of the wars carried on by the republics of Italy, from the eleventh to the fifteenth century. They often did not end but with the destruction of rivals.

The Genoese found a source of riches in the crusades, by which other nations were ruined. They furnished ships to transport the crusaders to Africa, and made them pay dear for their freight. During one crusade they equipped for their service seven different fleets, some of which consisted of seventy galleys. In these expeditions they were of signal service, by their navy, as well as their troops, and above all, their engineers and workmen, who were exceedingly ready in inventing and constructing warlike machines. The advantages they derived from this pious madness, which made the West pour forth its warriors against the East, were glory and profit. Besides temporary benefit, the Genoese procured a permanent one by excellent commercial establishments and possessions, for which they were indebted both to their own courage and the gratitude of princes, particularly Baldwin king of Jerusalem, to whom they gave great assistance when he took the holy city.

At the end of the tenth century, they were under a consular government; but with the form of it we are unacquainted. We know only that the consuls were annual. The Genoese, at that period, extended their territories a great way around their capital, which was the centre. The war with the Pisans continued. The popes and the emperors endeavoured to effect a reconcili-

ation; but they succeeded only for short intervals. The foundation of their quarrel was still Sardinia. We are not informed what kind of power the two republics exercised in that island, though we find that it had kings, some of whom were tributary to the Pisans, and others to the Genoese.

One of these petty monarchs, named Barason, who depended on the Genoese, offered them a large sum of money to assist him to make himself master of the island. They consented to this request, as much for interest, as through hatred to the Pisans; but after they had been successful, when they came to think of payment, king Barason found himself very much embarrassed. He borrowed from rich Genoese individuals a sum sufficient to satisfy the republic. When the period of the loan expired, the monarch's embarrassment was renewed. Having gone to Genoa to settle with his creditors, they threw him into prison, without shewing the least respect for his dignity. He remained there eight years, and then disappeared, having either paid the debt or been released as insolvent. After this period we find the families of Spinola and Doria distinguished among the Genoese nobility; and it appears by some circumstances which took place, that the government was aristocratic, like that of the patricians at Rome, under the presidency of con-



fuls; and as at Rome also divisions prevailed between the nobility and the people.

This discord was fomented by two families, the Castelli and Avocati, who induced others to join their party. Their hatred originated from a dispute between them for the honour of precedency, in the year 1170, at the solemn entry which the senate thought proper to cause king Barason to make into the city. The senators exerted themselves to reconcile them, but without effect. Not knowing how to accomplish this object, the senate, according to the custom of that period, ordered them to decide the affair by a combat of three against three. When the champions had entered the lists, in the presence of the people invited to this spectacle, the archbishop Hugh, a prelate universally respected, by an elegant speech replete with pious sentiments, made them throw down their arms, and embrace each other. The Castelli, however, did not remain at peace. They embroiled themselves with the Corte. The Volte and the Vento had also quarrels, and many of their partisans, both nobles and plebeians, were banished. Their houses were pulled down, as a mark of degradation; and the towers, which defended them, were demolished, as bastilles formidable to the people.

These intestine divisions produced a change in the form of the government in 1190. Genoa

was surrounded by republics, Verona, Lodi, Milan, Cremona, Florence, Como, Sienna, Lucca, Pavia, Parma, Placentia, Bologna, Padua, Pisa, and a great many others more or less considerable. Harassed by their noble fellow citizens, who aspired at the first places, the most of these had resolved to establish a chief chosen from some foreign city, under the name of *Doge*, which amounts to the same as duke, or under the denomination of *podestat*, *pretor*, or even *abbot*. The Genoese, agitated by the like intrigues, resolved to make a trial of this singular government. In 1190, they chose a *podestat*, who was to be always a foreigner, and to enjoy his power only a year, assisted by a council of six citizens, selected from among the nobles.

One of the Castelli, who had held distinguished employments under the republic, submitted not without regret to this new constitution. Attempts were made to reconcile him to the change, and to render his activity less dangerous, by directing it to some external object. He was entrusted by the government with embassies, the command of the land and naval forces, in a word, with commissions which required ability, and which were capable of gratifying a man fond of honours. He acquitted himself in all these with the most brilliant success. At the end of fifteen years, notwithstanding the law which excluded citizens, either on account of the esteem entertained for

him, or through violence on his part, he was appointed podestat. His administration, which had been dreaded, was attended with peace at home, and success abroad. The population of Genoa seemed then to increase. Besides its war with the Pisans, which still subsisted in Sardinia, it made excursions to Africa against the Moors and Saracens, and descents in Sardinia and Corsica. The Genoese carried their arms into Sicily and Cyprus, where they found the Venetians. This period gave birth to the rivalry of the two republics, which may be compared to that of Rome and Carthage.

After the Castelli, the foreign podestats were revived. In 1206, Genoa, being dissatisfied both with its consuls and podestats, placed itself under five foreign *doctors* or civilians; but it retained them only a year and returned to its podestats. We need not be surprised to see lawyers at the head of the government. Genoa, at this time, was as much occupied with treaties as with military expeditions. Treaties of peace, truces, and commercial conventions, with Pisa, Venice, and Marseilles; the Turks, the Greeks, and the Saracens. We find one even with a king of Armenia; and the crusades always maintained its navy. The podestat, in general, was likewise a man who had been bred to the law. There were some of them, however, fit for the profession of arms, and who were able to make their authority



be respected in the city, and by the inhabitants of the adjacent towns, whom the Genoese called their vassals. Among this number, was one named Martiningue. But, in common, they were not charged with the military functions. In 1228, a citizen, of an illustrious family, named Delmare, employed by the podestat to keep in a state of equality other families who wished to acquire authority, finding that he had in his hands the forces of the republic, suffered himself to be hurried on by the same ambition as that which he had been commissioned to suppress: an instance of the danger which people may experience from their own partisans, during the times of turbulence. At that period, there were several strong and violent factions at Genoa. One, under the name of Rampini, attached to the popes; and the other, called *Mascherats*, or the masked, devoted to the emperors. They were the Guelphs and the Ghibelines, under different appellations. Private animosities were collected around their standards. They were supported at Genoa by various families, and particularly those of Porco and Grillo. When the most ignoble see these names, which indicate an origin of the meanest kind, they need not despair of becoming celebrated by the aid of factions. The Porco and Grillo, together with their partisans, were expelled from the city, by the podestat, on account

of a sedition. Their property was confiscated and their houses were demolished.

1242.

1249.

These divisions were favourable to the enterprises of the emperor Frederick against Genoa. He blockaded its port and reduced it to the greatest distress. The exiles, by their incursions into the territories of the republic, increased the misfortunes of their country. Their enemies called them banditti and robbers; and both parties bestowed upon each other the most infamous names. Being at length exhausted, tranquillity was restored. The exiles were received into the city, but they did not enter it without experiencing great sorrow, when they beheld the devastation of their property, and without scattering the seeds of new dissensions. The people began to be impatient of their sufferings in this state of hostility, and to be incensed against the nobles, whom they considered as the authors of that discord which often interrupted their peace. Their discontent was followed by murmurs, and from murmurs they proceeded to open violence.

1257.

○ We do not, however, find that the people were either harassed or treated with severity. But chains, though invisible, are often not less oppressive. They complained, and so loudly, that the nobles, though unwilling to let them participate in the authority, suffered them at least to have a protector, to whom they gave the name of

*Captain.* The first person elected to this office was called Boccanegra, *Black-Mouth*. This man was little formed for grandeur. He was dazzled by it and abused it. His train was that of a prince, and his pomp was equally extravagant. He caused his salary, which was before fixed, to be augmented, and removed his habitation to a palace, which he ornamented in a magnificent manner, at the expence of the republic. The nobles pointed out this conduct to the people, to whom it gave great offence. They displaced their captain at the end of a year, and again put themselves under a podestat.

In every enterprize there needs only a beginning. The first success of the people, which had procured them a captain, opened their eyes in regard to their own power. There were among them some families who, by their merit and riches, were able to vie with the nobility, so that there were two very distinct parties in the republic, that of the nobles and that of the people; and by the help of the latter, Oberto Spinola conceived he could make himself master of Genoa. Having confined the podestat at his own house, his partisans ran through the streets of the city, during the night, crying out: "Oberto Spinola, lord and captain of Genoa." But his measures had not been concerted with prudence. When the people assembled at day-break, it was found that Spinola did not possess that influence over



them which he imagined. He thought himself happy to escape by giving up his pretensions. In the room of the podestat, who had fled during the tumult, they chose two governors, Doria and another Spinola, but only for the four months which the podestat, who disappeared, ought to have remained in office : after that period, they elected another, who was also a foreigner.

A year after, Oberto Spinola made another attempt, but with more success. In order that he might better ensure the result of his enterprise, he united his interest to that of Doria ; and both, having caused themselves to be elected captains of the Genoese liberty, seized on the supreme authority ; but they suffered a shadow of it to remain in the hands of a civil magistrate, whom they named *abbot* or *rector* of the people. They conferred on him a profusion of honours, and assigned to him a considerable revenue, with a beautiful palace, guards, and precedency, on every occasion : marks of distinction highly flattering to the people, who were pleased to see a chief selected from their body. The captains created a new podestat, and surrounded themselves with the authority of the senate. Armed with this power, they banished, proscribed, and plundered those who were not of their party, and among others, the Fieschi and the Grimaldi. The exiles had recourse to foreign powers. Charles of Anjou, king of Sicily, was much interested

in their favour, and declared war against the republic. It was carried on with the utmost fury, but a happy circumstance put an end to the quarrel. One of the Fieschi, being elected pope, brought about a reconciliation between his family and their enemies, and caused their partisans, who had been expelled from the city, to be restored to their former condition. After this they elected two captains, Spinola and Doria.

These families could not brook being sub-<sup>1292.</sup>jected to captains. They excited new commotions, and were again expelled. The captains, from being annual, had caused themselves to be declared permanent for three years. This prolongation of their power gave offence. Remonstrances were made to them, in which they were told that it was the continuation of their authority that promoted the troubles of the state, and that the rival families would never consent to bend under their yoke. They therefore abdicated, for the sake of peace; and one captain, a foreigner, was appointed to supply their place. It must be allowed that the affairs of the republic were never in so flourishing a condition as under the captains. Besides other services, they gave a mortal blow to the power of the Pisans, by a complete victory obtained at sea. Since that period, these ancient enemies of Genoa have been incapable of contending with their rivals. The government of the captains was mild and equi-

table in every thing not relating to their own authority. Peace prevailed during this administration; but it was purchased by murder, pillage, and other acts of violence, which must be allowed to the people by those who wish to employ them. History affords few instances of two men governing for twenty years with equal authority, and such perfect union, that every thing seemed to emanate from the same will. Their voluntary abdication, both at the same time, is particularly remarkable.

1294.

The Genoese were happy to get rid of the Pisans, because they had then proceeded to an open rupture with the Venetians. These republicans had long shewn a spirit of enmity to each other, and their petty quarrels only served to increase their animosity, which at length burst forth in insulting challenges and battles, rather bloody than decisive. During these hostilities abroad, Genoa was a prey to new troubles at home. The foreign captain did not find himself in a condition to preserve an equilibrium between the factions. The Fieschi and their partisans were once more expelled. No other means could be devised for restoring tranquillity, than to establish two national captains, and the sons of those who had resigned were elected.

Their faction was that of the Ghibelines. When they had established its influence, they abdicated, after the example of their fathers, and a foreign



podestat was chosen to succeed them. The Guelphs, however, returned, and found means to scatter the seeds of discord among the Ghibelines, and to detach from them the Doria, except one of them, named Barnaby Doria, who remained a firm adherent to Opicio Spinola, chief of the Ghibelines. These two men again expelled the Guelphs; got themselves elected captains, and established a podestat, and an abbot of the people. Imagining that their power was then well secured, they suffered the Guelphs to return.

The latter, supported by the family of the Doria, fomented a quarrel between the two colleagues, and inspired Barnaby Doria with the most violent jealousy. Opicio Spinola did not wait for its effects; he caused Doria to be arrested and deposed, and placed himself alone at the head of the government. Doria having escaped from prison, united himself and his family to the Guelphs; collected an army, and offered battle to Spinola, who was defeated. The Guelphs being received into the city, amidst the acclamations of the people, gave vent to their hatred against Spinola and his partisans. They plundered, burnt, and proscribed, under the authority of a *provisional government*, composed of sixteen members, for which they afterwards substituted the more permanent power of a council of twelve, six of the nobility, and six of the ple-

beans, but still with an *abbot* of the people to flatter the multitude. In regard to the heads of the ruling faction, they seemed to take no share in the administration, which they directed, however, in secret; satisfied, as they said, with rendering themselves useful to their country, by repelling the efforts of the Ghibelines, who wished to return. They were at length all admitted, except their chief Spinola, who was excluded.

1321. Every thing was in a state of tranquillity, when the emperor Henry VI. happened to pass through Genoa. Being an affable prince, he won the esteem of the Genoese, and all of a sudden these people, so jealous of their liberty, conceiving an idea that they could not be happy but under the dominion of a master, resigned themselves to him for the term of twenty years. This prince had brought back with him Opicio Spinola, and secretly favoured the Ghibeline faction. On his departure, he left him in sufficient force to resume an ascendancy over the Guelphs. The latter were again expelled; and a council of twenty-four, twelve nobles, and twelve plebeians was established, under the presidency of a foreign podestat. The war, which at first had prevailed between one faction and another, at length divided families. The Doria and the Spinola fought for twenty-four days in the city, compelling the people to hoist their colours, and follow their standards, while they inundated the streets with blood.

The Spinola were expelled. The Guelphs, their ancient adversaries, having become enemies to the Doria, introduced the vanquished by stealth. The Doria fled in their turn; and the Guelphs, finding themselves masters of the field, made Charles de Fieschi and Gaspard Grimaldi captains and *rectors* of the people, but still retaining a foreign *podestat*.

Genoa affords a striking example of those misfortunes to which the people are unavoidably exposed, during the fluctuations of a government, endeavouring to find stability. The *rectors* expelled the Ghibelines, and the latter besieged the city. Robert, king of Naples, marched to its relief, and caused the siege to be raised. The people, in the enthusiasm of their joy and madness, pulled down and reduced to ashes the superb palaces of the besiegers; destroyed or plundered every thing that belonged to them; and, in the transport of their gratitude, proclaimed Robert their sovereign. This prince, having left a governor in the city, the Ghibelines returned to besiege it. Every action of horror, murder, devastation, and fire, was committed on both sides, but the Ghibelines were repulsed. The licentiousness of the people in Genoa proceeded to such a length, that the good citizens were obliged to enter into a league against the bad. They had *decemvirs* to superintend the police. The siege was continued with obstinacy



and fury, but Robert again caused it to be raised. He then entered the city, and was once more proclaimed sovereign by the people. The nobles at first opposed this nomination; but they at last consented to make a trial of his government for six years. This agreement produced a reconciliation, which was confirmed by an oath, between the hands of Robert's vicar, in presence of the abbot of the people and the magistrates, to the number of twelve, six Guelphs and six Ghibelines.

The two factions had yielded only to the circumstances of the moment. Their disputes, therefore, which had been suspended, were again revived, and with more violence, as Robert's vicar, an artful man, fomented the flames of discord between them, in the hope of being able to destroy the one by the other; but this policy did not turn out to his advantage. He was dismissed from the city without noise or tumult, as well as the Guelphs, whose cause he had espoused. The chiefs of the Ghibelines then elected two captains, Raphael Doria and Galeotto Spinola, with an abbot of the people, a foreign podestat, assessors, counsellors, and lieutenants. This complex government, notwithstanding the number of its parts, lasted three years, during which the captains found means to get themselves continued. They gave great power to the nobility, who for that reason submitted without much op-

position to their authority. The case was not the same with the people, discontented on account of the haughtiness of the two captains; and because they left them nothing in the election of their abbot but the form, and, in reality, named him themselves. The effects of their discontent were reflected on the nobility.

The convulsion began by an insurrection of the Genoese sailors. The Genoese had sent to the king of France a fleet of ships to assist him to subdue the Flemings, who had revolted. The crews of these vessels having caught the spirit of liberty from those against whom they had been fighting, became mutinous, and affected independence. Their commanders punished some of them, and discharged the rest, who carried with them this spirit of insubordination to Savona, where they landed. The troops raised among the Genoese citizens, who were sent to reduce them to obedience, adopted their ideas, and on their return to the city inflamed the people with a desire of emancipating themselves from the slavery of the nobles. The people, therefore, demanded that they might be left at full liberty to elect their own abbot, and they expressed their demand in terms so imperious, that the captains durst not venture to oppose it. But it was not a rector or common abbot that the plebeians wished for. They insisted on giving him a more extensive au-

thority ; and for this purpose chose twenty persons to make the election.

While the electors were endeavouring to come to an agreement, and the people were murmuring on account of their slow progress, a poor artisan exclaimed aloud : " What occasion have we for so much delay ? Why don't you elect for your abbot Simon Boccanegra, who is here present ? " All immediately shouted out with transport : " Let Boccanegra be our abbot ! "

They then put a naked sword into his hand, and placed him between the two captains. Boccanegra, either in consequence of a plan previously concerted, or of a resolution formed at the moment, returned the sword, and said : " Citizens, I entertain a most grateful sense of the honour you wish to confer upon me ; but I must beg leave to decline it. No one of my family has ever yet been abbot of the people ; I will not be the first to introduce into it that title ; and therefore I beg you will bestow it on another. "

This was telling them, in pretty plain terms, that being of the same family as their first captain, Boccanegra, it was beneath him to accept any office inferior to that held by his ancestor. His meaning was readily comprehended. The general silence that ensued was interrupted by another strong voice, crying out : " Let Boccanegra then be made lord of Genoa. "



"I accept," replied Boccanegra with great modesty, "either as abbot or lord." "Lord, Lord," cried the multitude, "and not abbot." "You comprehend, no doubt," replied he again, "that I shall share the authority with the captains." "No, No," cried they all, "govern alone, and be our doge. Long live the doge. Long live the people!" The nobles who were present appeared as if thunderstruck, without daring to utter a single word. The people in the intoxication of their joy began to insult them, and to plunder their houses. The first use which the doge made of his authority, was to allay this phrenzy as much as possible; being induced to pursue these moderate measures, either through humanity, or to conciliate the affection of the nobility. The latter, however, placed no confidence in the apparent tranquillity which the doge had re-established. The greater part of them retired from the city, as if afraid to remain in it. Next morning Boccanegra caused himself to be proclaimed with more solemnity, and appointed a council entirely popular. The nobles were excluded from the government, and the whole authority was vested in the hands of the people.

Those who wish to know how ambition finds means to brave danger; how those fired with that passion, after escaping the most imminent perils again expose themselves to them with new intrepidity, and how they are neither intimidated

nor disconcerted by the example of others sacrificed to popular fury, must study the history of Genoa, under the doges. They will there find instruction, also, how to agitate the people, and to make them take up arms, on pretences of every kind. Those whom they least suppose, are often the most powerful; and a word presented to their imagination, a word destitute of meaning, which demagogues clothe in whatever signification suits their purpose, is sometimes sufficient to put them in motion. In short they will there see the means employed at all times to excite their fury; to call it forth in the necessary degree, to render it methodical, and to turn it to the advantage of faction.

Boccanegra, desirous of giving splendour to his administration by foreign exploits, marched from the city at the head of his popular bands, took some fortresses from the malcontents, repulsed the nobility who were advancing towards the territories of the republic, ruined their infant marine, and humbled some of the neighbouring lords. The people who, in general, have little share in triumphs, were highly pleased to see themselves figure here as the principal actors. Their attachment to the doge exceeded an ordinary passion; it was religious respect and adoration; but when the doge, harassed by the efforts of the nobles, and a life wholly spent in precaution against assassination as well as poison, thought

proper, in obedience to the voice of prudence, to listen to reasonable proposals, which restored some power to the nobles, and were likely to bring back peace, the creature, the god of the people, became in their eyes a malignant and dangerous being. Their friendship was converted into hatred. Boccanegra being too well acquainted with the nature of these formidable arms, which he had so often employed, abdicated, after a prosperous magistracy of five years, and retired to Pisa.

He chose for the moment of his abdication a time when an army of the nobles was before the city. The doge, named Murta, who succeeded him, made proposals for peace; but they were rejected by the besiegers, though seconded by the nobles, who had remained in the city. The efforts of the latter to bring about an accommodation, did not prevent them from becoming suspected to the popular party, who imagined that they kept up a secret intelligence with the besiegers. They searched their houses, and seized their arms, while the people, apprehending no farther danger from this quarter, threw themselves with fury on the besiegers, and repulsed them from the walls. Murta was a man of a mild pacific temper, and possessed all the civil virtues. As he was remarkably moderate, he made no change in his usual manner of life, and exerted himself to reconcile the opposite parties: The

1344.



neighbours of the Genoese; who experienced the distant effects of their turbulent spirit, endeavoured also to restore tranquillity among them, and these united efforts produced a treaty by which the nobles, who remained, were to be preserved. Some of the exiles had permission to return, but the chiefs were banished for ever. The latter carried their misfortunes to France, and almost all perished in the unfortunate battle of Creci, having been beheld with an evil eye by the French, who received them.

Genoa was at this time happy, governed by the doge Murta, and victorious under the celebrated Vignoso, who was able as a general, as he was just and compassionate as a man. Besides gaining other advantages to his country, he conquered the island of Chios. The following circumstance, which may serve to give some idea of his character, is related of him. Being persuaded that, however good the intentions of a general may be, it is impossible for him not to render a great many miserable against his will, that he might repair as much possible the injury he had done or tolerated, he left, at his death, a considerable sum for the purpose of marrying poor girls at Chios.

1350. Murta was succeeded by Valenti. It is not known why the Genoese under this government, so glorious, since the republic was gaining signal victories over the Venetians, became disgusted

with the office of doge. Valenti made no hesitation to abdicate, and the Genoese submitted to the dominion of John Visconti, archbishop of Milan. It would appear from their eagerness for this change that, by committing to other hands the reins of government, they considered it as a heavy burthen. Their whole thoughts were now bent on war, which they carried on with the most brilliant success against the Venetians, under the command of Pagano Doria, who was as much distinguished by his civil virtues as by his valour and military talents. This great man died without leaving enough to defray the charges of his funeral. The republic caused him to be interred at its expence; and erected a magnificent mausoleum to his memory.

On the death of the archbishop Visconti, the Genoese refused to submit to his nephews. The latter were much grieved to lose so noble an inheritance, and severe altercations took place on this subject. Boccanegra hastened from Pisa, in the hope of profiting by these troubles. He indeed armed the people, the nobility, and the Milanese; excited them to proceed to hostilities, and succeeded in getting himself re-elected doge. When he had accomplished his object, the haughty Boccanegra avenged himself in a cruel manner for his first disgrace, which he believed to have been occasioned by the nobility. He deprived them of all authority; loaded them with taxes; pro-

scribed them; and proceeded to such extremities, that he was at length poisoned. In the election of his successor, the people employed that form which has been since retained. They named twenty electors; these named sixty, and the sixty twenty-one, who appointed ten, by whom the doge was chosen. Can it be believed that this complex procedure, which seems to leave every thing to chance, is only a work of greater combination, and neither prevents intrigues nor their success.

1361. The choice fell on Gabriel Adorno, but scarcely had he been elected, when he found himself compelled to a compromise by the Milanese faction, at the head of which was Montalto, a Genoese. By this treaty Adorno obliged himself to pay a large sum to the Milanese, and Montalto agreed to leave the city for two years. The doge found very troublesome assistants in his two lieutenants, who were called decemvirs; as he was compelled to receive those appointed to that office. They might have afforded him support, and enabled him to appease the murmurs of the people, discontented on account of their taxes; but one of them, named Fulgoso, envenomed the hatred of the people against him, by his artful harangues. Adorno, therefore, thought it prudent to provide for his own safety; and, though he did not resign, Fulgoso was elected in his stead. Eight years after, the latter was displaced



in his turn. A false alarm, excited among the people at a very seasonable period, was sufficient to produce this revolution. Antonio Adorno, and Nicholas Guarco, candidates for the office of doge, spread a report that the Venetians and the Milanese were at the gates of Genoa. The people flew to arms, and the two ambitious competitors seized the doge, who was hastening to repel the enemy, and confined him in prison. The faction then elected Adorno; but almost immediately after, either in consequence of a concerted scheme, or through necessity, he resigned in favour of Guarco.

Under this doge, though not a warrior, the Genoese arms were attended with the most brilliant success against the Venetians. They blockaded Venice, which was never done by any other nation, and compelled that haughty republic to humble itself before their pride. It is not known what might have been the consequence of this unequal contest, on the part of the Venetians, if new troubles had not obliged Guarco to recall his troops to Genoa to oppose the malcontents. It needs excite no astonishment to see among them Antonio Adorno, who had abdicated with so much condescension. The moment of Guarco's submitting to demission was not yet arrived. A negotiation took place, and it was agreed that he should remain doge, with eight mentors called *proveditors*, four merchants, and four artisans.

The Montalto, already mentioned, got himself appointed one of the artisan-providers, though by profession a lawyer. But every thing is legal in the times of turbulence.

1383. The former spirit of discord was soon revived. Adorno made haste to take advantage of it, but to his great surprise, Montalto had been elected. The latter did not long survive his exaltation, and carried with him to the grave the regret of the Genoese. Adorno, who came forwards once more, obtained the suffrages of the people, and believed himself to be firmly installed, because he found means to prevent the uneasiness which Guarco might have given him, by causing him to be confined in a fortress; but he involved himself in misfortune, through that excess of timidity which he shewed in the new commotions, which afterwards took place. With a little firmness he might have appeased them; but he abandoned his country and disappeared. His escape excited astonishment, and at the same time gave offence. No one, however, enquired after him, and James Fulgosa was elected in his room.

1390. These quarrels, which occasioned the shedding of so much blood, were considered by the different competitors as affairs of amusement. They behaved to each other like gamesters, who are in a state of hostility while their game lasts, but friends as soon as it is ended. Adorno repented

of his flight, returned to Genoa with as much secrecy as he had quitted it, and surpris'd Fulgoso in his palace, when just sitting down to table : " You have ordered dinner for yourself," said he. " It is proper that you should not be disappointed. You shall dine with me, and may return to your former habitation time enough to put every thing in order." It is much to be wished, that Adorno had always conducted himself, under the different events of life, without peevishness or passion ; but, either to gratify his revenge or to make himself be dreaded, he extended his vengeance to every person who had opposed him. Exile, taxation, punishment, and torture, were all employed. He was, however, repaid, as far as possible, in conspiracies, attacks direct as well as indirect, and hostilities both at home and abroad. Unable to maintain his ground, he could not help shewing symptoms of a wish to retire. An insurrection of the people took place ; and being pursued to a convent, where he hid himself, he made his escape during the night.

The people, in a state of uncertainty, wandered<sup>1392.</sup> about, as chance directed, giving vent to their imprecations and proceeding to every excess. Amidst the wild confusion of this tumult, their ears were struck with the name of Montalto, the darling name of their ancient doge and that of his son, a young man, twenty-three years of age,



possessed of an agreeable figure, and already known by his amiable qualities. He had no sooner appeared than they all agreed that he must be doge, and every mouth was open to proclaim his election. He was conducted to the palace; and next morning the regular forms were gone through, amidst the acclamations of all present. He gave the people no reason to repent of their choice; which, though precipitate, could not have fallen on a more deserving object. Montalto was open and generous, void of envy or suspicion, and endowed with all the candour of youth. Two parties started up to oppose him: that of Adorno, who returned to the charge, and that of the children of Guarco, whom Adorno favoured, after he had thrown their father into prison. Besides these two factions, there appeared a third, composed of the partisans of Boccanegra. Montalto united to his party that of Fulgosio and his adherents. The commotion which ensued was a real civil war. The doors of the houses were burst open, lighted torches were thrown into them, and others were pulled down or destroyed.

1393.

What means could be devised to appease this fury of the people, which had proceeded to a degree of madness that threatened the total ruin of the city?

Some persons, whose intentions were good, though they do not seem to have been able poli-

ticians, imagined that the difficulty might be removed, by naming a doge who would adhere to no faction, as they were persuaded that he would overcome them all. They elected a Justiniani, a wise and moderate man, who was so prudent, that, when he found he could not promote union among the people, abdicated some time after. Adorno, Fulgoso, Guarco, Boccanegra, and Montalto, continued to carry on hostilities against each other; and this conflict induced all parties to adopt one of those desperate measures which sometimes produce concord: to declare Montalto perpetual doge.

As the wind, when it rises, disperses the clouds which obscure the horizon, the perpetual dictator breathed, we may say, on his rivals, and they were dispersed. Boccanegra alone remained, suffered himself to be taken, and was condemned to death. When already on the scaffold, while the axe seemed as if suspended over his head by a thread, Montalto, surrounded by his council, was looking out at the window, according to his usual custom, and beheld the unfortunate victim shedding tears and begging for life. The bosom of youth is the seat of sensibility. The doge had opened his lips to pronounce a pardon, but an old counsellor ridiculed his compassion as weakness, and set out to hasten the punishment. Montalto, however, called him back, made the signal of pardon, and Boccanegra was saved.

1394.

The benevolence of the young doge, of which this is only one instance among many, did not lessen the activity of faction. The commotions still continued. Harassed by a dignity which rendered his life miserable, Montalto went on board a galley, proceeded towards Gavi, and abandoned to their unhappy fate a people who were incapable of suffering themselves to be governed, either by severity or mildness. As soon as he had quitted the city, a person, named Zoaglio, was chosen to fill his place. Adorno again made his appearance at the gates, as a suppliant, begging only to be received, and declaring that he would, in future, live as a peaceful citizen, without interfering in the government. Zoaglio either really believed, or was under the necessity of appearing to believe him. As soon as Adorno was admitted, he introduced the Fulgosio and Guarco, and the former troubles were revived. Zoaglio, however, being a man void of ambition, made himself a voluntary sacrifice and abdicated. Fulgosio and Guarco then cast lots for the office of doge, and fortune declared in favour of the latter.

Montalto either recalled by the Genoese, or impelled by a desire of honours, which are not easily forgotten, returned to Genoa with a body of troops, and was joined by one Fiesco. Adorno was equally well attended. Fugosio also found himself at the head of a numerous body, and sup-



ported the doge, Guarco. The latter, being obliged to yield, abdicated his office, and fled. Adorno was taken prisoner by Montalto; but what seemed likely to ruin him, turned out to his advantage. He first obtained his liberty, and afterwards entered into an arrangement with Montalto, whose candour and sincerity laid him open to seduction.

When their convention was concluded, they assembled the people, who were already informed of their reconciliation. Adorno addressed them first, with that persuasive elquence which was natural to him; lamented the misfortunes of Genoa; expressed much sorrow for the excesses into which he had been hurried by ambition; almost begged pardon for his past conduct, and communicated to them the noble resolution formed by himself and Montalto, to renounce all their rights. He, therefore, exhorted them to make choice of some mild, peaceable man, calculated to ensure the happiness of his country. Montalto next made a plain, unadorned speech, which displayed openness and simplicity.

To see Adorno in a state of repentance, was something very remarkable; but whether his disinterestedness was feigned or real, advantage was taken of it. Ninety persons were chosen from among the chiefs of the assembly, in order that they might proceed to the election of a doge. Scarcely had they shut themselves up for that pur-

pose, when a dreadful noise was heard in the streets. Some burst open the doors, and others clambered in at the windows, while the air resounded with shouts and horrid imprecations unless Adorno should be elected. He was accordingly proclaimed by the trembling electors, who thought it prudent to give way, that they might avert the violence with which they were threatened. Montalto finding himself thus deceived, quitted the assembly in a violent rage, and vowing vengeance.

1396.

He admitted, as partners of his resentment, all the enemies of Adorno whom he could find; and, indeed, they were exceedingly numerous, especially among the nobility. Hostilities were renewed with more asperity than ever; but they were not fortunate to the confederates. They were repulsed by Adorno; but rather than submit to this doge, they formed a resolution of subjecting Genoa to a foreign power. The French had already got a footing in the state by the enterprises of Charles VIII. in Italy. The nobles entered with them into a negotiation; and Adorno, who was informed of it, finding that they were raising up an enemy, against whom it would be difficult for him to defend himself, determined to abandon his country to the French, and thus to acquire a merit which would call forth their gratitude towards him.

The doge had in his hands the reins of govern-

ment, and the forces of the state. He commanded also the will of the people, enchained by prepossession and their confidence in his dignity. It was, therefore, a much wiser plan for the French to receive from Adorno an authority already established, than that which his enemies offered to procure. They, accordingly, treated with him in preference to the latter. In a general assembly, convoked for the purpose, he proved so clearly the advantages which might result to Genoa by submitting to France, that the measure was adopted amidst the acclamations of the whole people. The Genoese abandoned themselves to the most lively transports of joy, as if that day had been the happiest and most fortunate of the republic. The popular government, by becoming anarchical, had already ended in two chiefs, Robert, king of Naples, and Visconti, archbishop of Milan: Charles VI. was the third.

When we reflect on the character of the Genoese, and what had taken place, it cannot be expected that the dominion of a foreign prince should produce tranquillity. The nobles, headed by Guarco and Montalto, and protected by the duke of Milan, who aspired to the sovereignty, were much chagrined to see it abandoned to a prince, who would not be under any obligation to them for it. On the other hand, the nobles who espoused the cause of Adorno, openly extolled the monarchical government, which they



considered as highly advantageous to their order, and supported the revolution with all their might. The misfortunes of the two chiefs, Montalto and Guarco, who were even taken prisoners, but afterwards released, and their common interest, reconciled for some time the two noble factions. They, however, subsisted, both equally exasperated in their hearts, under the name of the *Guelphs* and the *Ghibelines*, which they resumed with a kind of enthusiasm. The arrival of a French governor, and a general amnesty, which he granted, produced a truce, so much the more effectual, as the intriguing Adorno was carried off by death.

1398. Every thing was going on in the best train possible, when the French governor, suspecting some secret plots, and apprehending that the *podestat*, or ordinary criminal judge, was not sufficient for the purpose of searching out the conspirators and their accomplices, established another judge, under the name of *captain of justice*, whom he invested with absolute power, without bounds and without appeal. The Genoese were irritated as much as frightened by this bloody tribunal, and they offered up vows for the success of the noble Ghibelines, who were ravaging the country. The governor suppressed his captain of justice; but at the same time offended the Guelphs, who were his friends, by some favours which he granted to the Ghibelines, in order to gain them over to his

party. It was of the utmost importance to him not to alienate these Ghibelines too much, as they were joined by the popular faction, at all times formidable.

This artful policy did not, however, succeed. The two factions, being thus placed nearly on an equal footing, were better enabled to exercise their animosity against each other. In the course of fifteen days, they fought no less than six battles in the city. It would be difficult to describe the scenes of horror by which they were accompanied. Stones, marble, and bronze were not sheltered from the effects of their fury. The public buildings, the ornament of Genoa, were demolished and razed to the foundation. The streets were covered with the bodies of the slain, and the houses were infected by the odour which exhaled from them. The ravages of the plague were added to the miseries of war and of famine. These scourges ceased rather by their becoming exhausted, than in consequence of any public measures pursued to check them. There was, indeed, no longer any established authority in Genoa. The governor had retired, and the council of France seemed to have formed a resolution of suffering these furious people to weaken each other by their losses, in order that it might afterwards govern them with more ease, like maniacs, when suffered to exhaust themselves by the violence of their efforts.

1400.

But their turbulent passions were not yet cooled. Another governor, who was sent to them, found them still far from being composed. He was obliged, therefore, to adopt a measure disagreeable to the nobility, but judged to be necessary, which was to allow the establishment of twelve popular magistrates, chosen from the class of tradesmen. This expedient, however, was not attended with success. With the same enthusiasm that the Genoese had embraced the honour of becoming French citizens, they now detested that character, four years after they had assumed it. The very name of governor was become odious to them. This magistrate thought it, therefore, prudent to humour their prejudice, and to suffer them to be governed by an intermediary officer, to whom they gave the name of *captain of the king's guard*. He was chosen among the natives of Genoa. Boccanegra, who had been saved from punishment by Montalto, was the first that enjoyed this whimsical dignity; but being unable to maintain it, he resigned his authority. Luzzardo, another Genoese, who was appointed his successor, abdicated also; resumed his office, and afterwards quitted it a second time. All this was contrary to the will of the governor, though it took place as if by his consent. The council of France, at last, resolved to make a grand effort against these seditious people, and to try whether it was possible to render them submissive to go-



vernment, or whether it would be necessary to abandon them entirely.

This attempt was entrusted to the abilities of <sup>1401.</sup> John le Meingre, lord of Boucicaut, marshal of France, who was dispatched with an escort equivalent to an army. Boucicaut had acquired a high reputation, which he justly merited by his bravery, disinterestedness, and equity; but, at the same time, he was a man of great severity, and of an impetuous, inflexible, and inexorable disposition. As his character was well known in Genoa, his entry inspired terror. He was accompanied by a thousand infantry, and as many horse, all observing a stern silence like their chief, and like him casting looks of indignation at the crowd by whom they were surrounded. The sight of the formidable Boucicaut increased their alarm. His features, figure, and deportment all conspired to render his external appearance terrible; but in private society this ferocious outside was softened by great affability, the utmost politeness, engaging mildness, and an assemblage of all the social virtues; so that Boucicaut in public, and Boucicaut in private life, were two men absolutely different.

He began his administration by a severe act of justice and policy. We have seen that Boccane-gra and Luzardo, under the title of captains of the king's guard, had enjoyed authority to the prejudice of the governor. Boucicaut, without

any form or trial, caused them both to be arrested, and condemned to death. In vain did they alledge that they had been compelled by the people in a state of insurrection, and that they had accepted the place without forgetting the obedience which they owed to the king. The governor, notwithstanding these excuses, ordered them to be conducted to the scaffold. While Boccanegra, strong and vigorous, resisted the guards by whom he was surrounded, and disputed his head with the executioner, Luzardo jumped into the middle of the crowd, who flocking around him, concealed him from view, and thus favoured his escape. He at first fled to a church, and finding means to retire from the city, became Boucicaut's most formidable enemy. The governor, irritated by Luzardo's escape, caused the Genoese officer who commanded the guard to be instantly beheaded.

Nothing but the most rigorous measures, and depriving the multitude of every opportunity to rise, could restrain so seditious a people. Boucicaut neglected no means that could enable him to accomplish this end. He disarmed the inhabitants in the country, who were too often the auxiliaries of the factions in the city, and compelled the citizens to carry their arms to the citadel, which he surrounded with ditches and ramparts that secured it from every attack. He broke the captains of the different quarters, gonfaloniers, syn-

dics and other officers; and forbade, under the severest penalties, all conferences and public assemblies. He prohibited also the appellations of Guelphs and Ghibelines, and the badges peculiar to these factions. The body of tradesmen were deprived of their consuls, and were commanded not to elect others. Nothing was now done but by the orders, or with the consent, of government. The fraternities, even in a country so much attached to its religious usages, assembled no longer, but with its permission.

If some of the Genoese regretted their ancient civil institutions, and the popular form of their government, others approved of Boucicaut's reforms, while they beheld the peace and tranquillity which the city enjoyed under the vigilant care of one master. To the advantage arising from his police, he added that of maintaining the reputation of the Genoese abroad, by defending their possessions and reviving their commerce. Under his government was established the bank of St. George, a fund which was open for all those who 1407. choose to lodge their money there, under the guaranty of the state. It has been the model of all the public banks formed since that period.

The administration of Boucicaut was supported 1409. by terror. He was so sensible of the necessity of this mean, that he was inflexible in regard to the least infringement of his authority. He carried his precaution perhaps too far, by permitting



no reflections on his government, and by punishing as high treason speeches or observations on this subject. He wished even to extend his interdiction to the thoughts. This tyrannical conduct tended only to concentrate the public discontent, and to render it more active. Notwithstanding the restraint laid upon confidence, the people communicated to each other their grievances and their complaints. Some executions, more than severe, made them proceed from private complaints to open murmurs. Luzardo, continually hovering about in the country of Genoa, after he had been again taken, and had again escaped, fanned their indignation against the governor. Boucicaut, however, would have triumphed over all his stratagems, and all his efforts, had not the general affairs of Italy, and the necessity of maintaining the French in the duchy of Milan, obliged him to retire from Genoa.

The Italian princes, having united to prevent the French from fortifying themselves in Italy, where they were already too powerful by the possession of Genoa, came to lay siege to that city in order to deliver it from the French yoke; but they found that the inhabitants had shaken it off as soon as Boucicaut had retired. The revolution was not effected without the effusion of blood, and great horrors committed against the French, whom the marshal had left to maintain his authority. When the confederate princes, therefore, ap-

peared before the city with the nobles of the Ghibeline party, who accompanied them, having at their head the marquis of Montferat, those of the Guelphine party within the walls, after deliberating together, opened the gates on certain conditions, the principal of which was, that the marquis of Montferat should be acknowledged captain-general of the republic. This was accordingly done amidst the acclamations of the people.

With the marquis of Montferat, captain-general, was joined a council of twelve, half nobles and half plebeians, Guelphs and Ghibelines. This mixture formed a very heterogeneous mass. The Ghibelines having for their chief Luke de Fiesco, expelled the Guelphs. The latter endeavoured to return. The captain-general being displeased with the Ghibelines, who were headed by the Fulgosio and the Adorno, thought it his interest to suffer the Guelphs to return, and for that reason he favoured them as far as he was able. He connived, it is said, in the massacre of one of the Fulgosio, and caused one of the Adorno to be loaded with irons; but these precautions did not prevent him from losing the principality of Genoa. A council of eight magistrates was established, and these eight convoked an assembly consisting of three hundred of the most distinguished citizens. This assembly passed a law that, in future, ple-

beians as well as nobility should be admitted to every dignity. Adorno being released by the marquis of Montferat, under an idea that his presence would excite trouble, became on the contrary a rallying point for the noble and popular factions. He was elected doge as soon as he made his appearance in the city.

1414.

An important labour was undertaken in his time: that of making laws to reform the manners of the people, and to prevent cabals. This business was entrusted to the care of twelve aged magistrates, who enacted that no person could be elected doge unless he was a Genoese born; a member of the mercantile body, and at least fifty years of age. The reader may easily guess the nature of their regulations, in regard to morals. They were all of the same kind, and put in execution with the utmost rigour. The government of Adorno was attended with a considerable degree of tranquillity. One Isnard Guarco, imagining that he continued too long in office, endeavoured to supplant him; but in consequence of this attempt was expelled. One Montalto, equally enterprising, had better success, and obliged Adorno to resign his dignity. It was not, however, conferred upon him, but on Barnaby Guarco, a lawyer, who had distinguished himself by his frequent harangues to the people on peace. The chiefs of the popular houses



thought this too great a reward for the civilian. They forced him, therefore, to abdicate, and elected Thomas Fulgosio in his stead.

Fulgosio was a liberal, brave, indefatigable, and attentive man, who, while he neglected no part of administration, did every thing in his power to obtain the affection of the people. He re-established tranquillity at home, procured peace abroad, reduced to obedience the Corsicans who had revolted, diminished the taxes, and employed a part of his patrimony in building and repairing edifices, and in other works, which were objects of utility rather than of pomp. Among these we may class the cleaning of the port of Genoa, which had been choked up with filth and mud. Thomas Fulgosio displayed no qualities but those of the noblest kind. He was, therefore, exposed to envy, which is always the enemy of virtue. The Guarco, Spinola, Montalto, Adorno, and other malcontents, who were not so much displeased with the doge as at not being in his place, when they found that they could not destroy him alone, excited against him Philip Mary Visconti, duke of Milan, a dangerous neighbour to Genoa, who only sought for an opportunity of fomenting disturbances, in the hope of recovering the authority which had been possessed by his ancestors in that city.

The war began, and continued with an alternation of good and bad success on both sides.

The confederates, along with Visconti, had brought against Genoa almost all Italy. Fulgofio supported himself for some time with the forces of the republic alone; but the storm increased in so alarming a manner, that, dreading lest by his too great obstinacy he should become the cause of the ruin of his country, he abdicated in favour of Visconti. Fulgofio's departure was a real triumph. He was accompanied by his fellow-citizens to his galley, with the most affecting testimonies of sorrow and respect. He retired to Sarzana, the territory of which was given to him by the republic, as a mark of esteem, and as an indemnification for the breaches made in his patrimony, by his generosity towards his country. Thus Genoa became subject once more to the dominion of the Milanese. It assumed a master whom it neither loved nor esteemed. He, on the other hand, received subjects discontented on account of the ravages which he had occasioned during the war. But the people still shewed an equal joy.

1422.

Visconti's plan for subjugating the Genoese was as follows: to involve them in wars with Arragon, Venice, and Florence, from which he alone could have derived advantage; to affect to favour the citizens to the prejudice of the other ranks; to give away the towns and fortresses to his friends, under the pretence of governments, and thus to dismember the state; not to persecute the exiles, on the contrary, to pity them, to suffer

them to return, and thus to add strength to private hatred ; to keep the people always in action, by reports artfully spread, and the chiefs in a state of suspense by hope and fear. By this conduct, Visconti had nearly lulled the Genoese into a mortal sleep.

But vengeance is ever vigilant. Thomas Fulgoso, who quitted with regret the dignity of doge, which he had maintained with so much propriety, observing, from his retreat, the situation of affairs, opened the eyes of his fellow-citizens respecting their condition. The number of the malcontents, collected around him by his exertions, still increased. The faction of Adorno united itself to his, under Barnaby Adorno, and they both still farther strengthened themselves by the abilities of Spinola, an able general. The people also were incensed against the duke of Milan, who had blinded them in regard to the atrocious conduct of Piccini, the commander of his troops. After a victory gained with the assistance of the Genoese over the malcontents, this barbarian was so cruel as to cause the prisoners to be massacred in cold blood, though they begged forgiveness on their knees, and though the Genoese in his army interceded for these unfortunate victims, their brethren and fellow-citizens.

Not contented with this execution, more horrid than any which had been seen for a long time in the christian states, Piccini, without regard to



sex, age, or profession, caused all those who had escaped this butchery to be sold by public auction. To neglect to punish crimes so enormous, is to participate in them. Such, at any rate, was the opinion of the Genoese. They suppressed their resentment for some time; but as soon as they found themselves in a condition to face the Milanese garrison, dispersed throughout the city, they openly revolted. Their first measure was to choose six of the principal persons among them, whom they entrusted with the government, under the title of *Defenders of their Country*. The defenders drove the Milanese into the castle, afterwards took it, and then expelled them. The duke of Milan sent against them the terrible Piccini, but he only ravaged the environs of the city.

1436.

Genoa was still doomed to involve itself in the greatest misfortunes. The defenders having attained to this post in the moment of trouble, were at a loss what conduct to observe towards the people. Being ignorant of the boundaries and extent of their power, and afraid of doing too much or too little, they remained in a kind of stupor, favourable to the banditti, robbers, and other vagabonds, with whom the factions had filled the city, and no less convenient for the chiefs of these factions, who were thereby enabled to form their plans without molestation. The Fulgosio and the Adorno held the first rank among the popular families; the rest, even those of the

nobility, did not blush to put themselves under their protection. The Montalto and the Guarco were those alone who could oppose to them formidable competitors.

The Genoese having resolved to return to the government of a doge, Isnard Guarco, who happened to be at that time in the city, was elected. They wished, no doubt, to anticipate the pretensions of Thomas Fulgosio, but Isnard had scarcely been seven days vested with the authority, when Thomas entered the city, accompanied by a large body of his adherents. He insisted that, having quitted the office of doge only to give way to the administration of the duke of Milan, agreeably to the wishes of the people, as they had now rejected the authority of the duke, it was just that a dignity, which he had renounced through complacency, should be restored to him. Fulgosio was both beloved and esteemed, which is often of more avail than arguments. He was, therefore, re-elected or re-installed as the ancient doge, with the consent of the new one.

The Milanese, after they were expelled, did not remain at peace. Besides other intrigues in which they engaged, they embroiled the doge, Thomas Baptist Fulgosio, with his brother, and the quarrel became serious. The two brothers took up arms, and proceeded to hostilities. Baptist was worsted, and taken prisoner. He was, however, pardoned by his brother, and a recon-

ciliation took place between the whole family. The doge treated all his relations with every mark of kindness, conferring on them dignities, and giving them the command of troops. This glaring partiality excited jealousy. The people began to say that Thomas Fulgosio had been too long in possession of the dignity, and that every one ought to have his turn. John Anthony de Fiesco did not confine himself to words. By the instigation of the duke of Milan, he appeared in arms on the Genoese coast, and having induced some of the nobility to come on board his vessel, endeavoured by his speeches to excite their jealousy against the doge: "Was it to obey the laws of a plebeian," said he, "that you shook off the yoke of a foreign prince? Was it to give yourselves an imperious master in a Fulgosio, that you shook off that of the duke of Milan?" These speeches produced the more effect, as Fulgosio had excited great envy by his taste for pomp and magnificence. Abandoning himself to perfect security, he neglected to keep a watchful eye on the conduct of Fiesco. The latter took advantage of this carelessness, and introduced himself into the city. The doge, to his great astonishment, was instantly deserted, and thought himself exceedingly happy, to be able, by a capitulation, to regain Sarzana, his ancient asylum.

1443. Eight magistrates, called *captains of the Genoese liberty*, were then elected; but they con-



Eight magistrates, called *Captains of the Genoese Liberty*, were then elected, but they continued only a month. This octocracy was succeeded by a doge, named Raphael Adorno, flanked, as we may say, by four counsellors, posted at his sides, to prevent him from abusing his authority. There was not much necessity for this precaution, in regard to Raphael, for he had very little ambition, and was so modest that his family, as they gained nothing by his elevation, considering his moderation carried too far, induced him to resign, in favour of Barnaby Adorno, from whom they hoped to obtain every thing that had been denied them by Raphael. But, during a very dark night, Janus Fulgosio, brother of the doge Thomas, entered the port in a single galley, and, without noise, landed his whole crew, consisting of twenty-four brave followers, who were resolved to conquer, or to perish with their leader. Having marched forwards to the doge's palace, they experienced some resistance, but Barnaby was obliged to fly, and next morning Janus was elected in his room.

Janus died at the end of a year, very much regretted. The esteem in which he was held secured the suffrages for Louis Fulgosio, his brother, though then absent; but he was very ill suited for the office, being a man who, if he had no vices, possessed no virtues. The dignity was offered to Thomas at Sarzana, but he preferred

the tranquillity of his retreat. On his refusal, it was conferred upon his nephew, Peter Fulgosio, an intrepid and excellent warrior, who, having been before a rebel and proscribed, well knew what measures were best to be pursued to restrain the insurgents. Fear and terror were his favourite means. He gave an example of severity which was new to Genoa. A nobleman, named Galeoto, having made use of some expressions unfavourable to him, the doge, who in other respects had no good will towards him, caused him to be hung in his senatorial robes. Under his feet was the following label: "This man said what he ought not to have said."

1453. Genoa maintained the war, sometimes against France and sometimes against Ferdinand, king of Arragon; that is to say, the war between the Fulgosio and Adorno exposed their country to foreign arms. The Fulgosio had contributed to deprive France of the sovereignty of Genoa, but in politics every thing is forgotten. Thus the doge, Fulgosio, being hard pressed by the Adorno, who had applied to the Arragonese to assist them to get possession of the dogeship, did not hesitate to call in the French to support him. He even did more. Being in danger of seeing his dignity torn from him by the Adorno, he said: "Since I cannot command in Genoa, let Genoa be subjected. Let it obey a foreign power. I shall not rule my country, nor shall it be ruled

“ by the Adorno. I will obey; but they also shall have a master, and an Adorno shall not be mine.” With these intentions, he proposed the sovereignty to Charles VII. The king accepted it, on the same conditions as those under which it had been held by his father; and a certain indemnification, in money, was stipulated for to the doge.

The king of Arragon, inflamed by the Adorno and their partisans, hastened to Genoa, which he blockaded. A famine, the consequence of war, and its companion the plague, began to make their appearance in the city, when the death of the king of Arragon caused the siege to be raised. Peter Fulgosio now reasoned in a different manner. He had no longer occasion to dread the king of Arragon, nor the two chiefs of the family of Adorno, Raphael and Barnaby, as they were now destitute of support. He said to himself, that it would be committing a great fault to leave the sovereignty in the hands of France, and not to recover the supreme authority. But how was this to be effected? The French had a strong garrison in Genoa, and it was difficult to expel them.

Fulgosio demanded from them the sum which <sup>1439</sup> had been promised as the price of his abdication. He was desired to apply at the treasury of the republic. The treasury was empty. He began, therefore, to murmur and complain; and, on



that account, was expelled from the city, together with his partisans. This was just what he wished. He repaired to the duke of Milan, who, not being able to give him effectual assistance, referred him to the new king of Arragon, with strong recommendations. Fulgofio gained over the Fiesco, entered into a reconciliation with all his former enemies, and made his appearance before Genoa. Hurried on by his hatred against the French, he did not give himself time to collect all the forces which had been promised him, and, attacking the city, scaled the outer wall. Being stopped at the second, after long search, he discovered a postern-gate which was weakly guarded, and rushed into the place, imagining that he was followed by his partisans. Having imprudently advanced, he traversed several streets on horseback, defending himself in the best manner he could; but at length perceiving that it was impossible to proceed, he endeavoured to retreat, pursued with volleys of darts and stones, and, while searching for a passage back which he could not find, received a blow on the head with a stick, instantly fell, and expired.

1461.

His troops then dispersed, and Genoa enjoyed tranquillity for some months, under the dominion of the French. During this interval, consultations were held on the means to be pursued to provide for the urgent expences of the republic; but the treasury was entirely exhausted. It was

necessary therefore to fill it. The people maintained that, as they were excluded from honours and dignities, there was no reason why they should be still oppressed with this burthen. The nobility excused themselves also. While they were disputing on this point with great warmth, a young man exclaimed: "Why all these words? Have we not arms to procure us justice? To arms, citizens! To arms!" The whole city was immediately in a state of insurrection. As the people declared that they had no intention of attacking the French, the governor offered to become mediator. He was just on the point of succeeding, when Paul Fulgoso, archbishop of Genoa, brother of the deceased doge Peter, together with Prosper Adorno, entered the city. Fulgoso, in consequence of a convention, suffered Adorno to be elected doge. The two families united their hatred against the French, who had retired into the citadel; and though the governor had behaved with great moderation, the people attacked the place, as if there had been cause of complaint against them. The siege was prolonged by a misunderstanding between the doge and the archbishop; but they were reconciled through the interposition of the duke of Milan, who was induced to this measure, not so much through a love of peace, as on account of hatred to the French.

1464.

It would be difficult to determine which of these men was the most perverse. One advised what was wrong, and the other performed it. They understood each other wonderfully well: the archbishop in inventing means to oppress the people, and the other in putting them into execution. A formidable kind of concord, if it could exist between bad men! But on account of a victory gained by the archbishop over the French, who had relieved their countrymen shut up in the citadel, the doge refused to admit the prelate into the city, being apprehensive that the glory he had acquired might render him too powerful. The partisans of the archbishop opposed this kind of proscription, and endeavoured to cause him to open the gates. Adorno persisted in keeping them shut. A battle took place in the city, in the view of the besieged and the Milanese auxiliaries, who remained calm spectators of the combat. The result was, that the doge himself was obliged to retire from the city; and Louis Fulgosio, who was not an archbishop, was elected in his stead. The prelate, highly incensed, displaced his relation, and got himself appointed his successor; but scarcely had he been invested with this dignity, when he gave offence to the people, and resigned it to Louis. A few days after it returned to the archbishop Paul. During these changes, Louis XI. disgusted with a sovereignty so preca-



rious, as that of Genoa, voluntarily resigned his authority. It is reported, that some Genoese deputies, desirous of inducing him not to abandon them, having said to him, "We consign ourselves over to you, with the utmost sincerity;" the monarch abruptly replied, "And I consign you to the devil."

To fall into his hands, indeed, would have been much the same, as to fall into those of the archbishop. The prelate, accompanied by banditti and murderers, ran day and night through the streets of Genoa, robbing, plundering, massacring, and committing the most horrid excesses. Against this mitred tyrant, who was too well supported by satellites, the unfortunate Genoese implored the protection of Francis Sforza, duke of Milan. This prince endeavoured, in an amicable manner, to induce the prelate to leave the city in peace; but as his efforts were fruitless, it was necessary to employ force. The archbishop attempted to secure the citadel, that he might there establish himself with more safety; but being repulsed in this quarter, he turned his thoughts to the sea, took possession of four merchant vessels, which were lying in the port, and having manned them with his banditti, proceeded to make piratical excursions. The Genoese, thus harassed, and incapable of defending themselves, as they had already experienced the good offices of the duke of Milan, applied once more to him.

This prince delivered them from the oppression of the archiepiscopal doge, Paul Fulgosio; restored good order in the city, and exercised the government with mildness.

John Galeazzo, the son of Francis Sforza, did not behave towards the Genoese in the same manner as his father. Instead of respecting the shadow of authority which they had reserved when they gave themselves up to his protection, he shewed an impatient desire of entirely reducing them to obedience. Stratagem and violence were both employed to accomplish his designs, and with an awkwardness, which gave the Genoese an opportunity of observing that he neither loved nor esteemed them. The latter behaved to him in the like manner. The people, above all, were continually exposed to the insults of his haughtiness, and to that of his officers. They treated them as mere animals, not under the care of an attentive shepherd, but under the whip of a mercenary; indifferent to their sufferings. On the other hand, the duke of Milan treated with great kindness the nobility; who, on their part, preferred the court of a sovereign, where they obtained marks of distinction, to employments in the republic, where they were too often confounded with the other ranks.

There were, however, some complaints common to both. The nobles and the plebeians found themselves equally harassed by taxes and tyrannical

nical orders, and they were equally offended at the arbitrary measures of the government. When the first symptoms of discontent began to appear, the duke thought it prudent to enlarge the fortifications of the citadel; and for that purpose it was necessary to pull down a great number of houses. The fatal cord destined to line out the new works, was already extended, and the citizens beheld it with despondency and dismay. Lazarus Doria, fired with indignation, immediately cut it, in the sight of the Milanese engineers and their officers. The joy which the people testified at the boldness of this conduct, prevented the governor from attempting to punish them. Encouraged by finding that they were feared, they flew to arms, but were calmed by some of the citizens, and became the organs of a treaty, by which they indeed consented still to wear chains, on condition that they should be lightened. This agreement gave great offence to John Galeazo, as it set bounds to his authority. He therefore levied forces to make the Genoese again submit to the yoke, but was killed at Milan, where his tyranny was as odious as at Genoa.

The death of Galeazo revived the ambition of the factious chiefs; Adorno, Fiesco, Fulgosio, Guarco, and others, who had been exiled by the Milanese. Guarco first tried to get admittance into Genoa; but the widow of Galeazo, who was 1477.



the guardian of her son, had, immediately after the death of her husband, taken such measures as were proper to render this enterprize abortive. Some others, however, were attended with success, notwithstanding the efforts and vigilance of the Milanese governor, who was obliged to retire into the citadel, and to abandon the city, where the Fiesco had been favourably received. They caused six captains of the Genoese liberty to be elected: four of the people, and two of noble families, Justiniani and Doria.

Liberty was a word dear to the people, but fatal to the Genoese. No sooner had they placed this kind of idol under the protection of the captains, than the factions flocked together to render themselves masters of it, and to employ it as the *palladium* of their party. Some joined the Milanese army sent against Genoa; and others threw themselves into the city to defend it. The cannon thundered from the citadel; destroyed the houses and uncovered the unfortunate inhabitants, who knew not where to go in order to find an asylum. After a great deal of bloodshed, and various schemes devised to disarm, if possible, so many ambitious men, recourse was had to the expedient of appointing an Adorno governor of Genoa, under the authority of the duke of Milan.

1478 Prosper Adorno being invested with power, under a precarious title, did not intend to exer-

cise it long for the Milanese. His views, however, were discovered, and he was thrown into prison, but released by a change of ministry which took place at the court of Milan. This commotion enabled him to emancipate himself from all dependance. He had secured the people in his interest, by communicating to them a pretended letter of the duchess of Milan, which he said had been intercepted, and in which that princess promised to her army the plunder of Genoa. Without examining whether this letter was forged or real, the people unanimously renounced the Milanese authority, and appointed Adorno *chief* or *rector* of Genoa, without any dependance on Milan. To break off all connection with that court, the rector formed an alliance with the king of Naples, then at war with the duke of Milan, and obtained assistance from that monarch. The regent of Milan, incensed by the defection of Adorno, opposed to him Obietto de Fiesco, whom she retained at her court as a dangerous man. This quality, so formidable before, now became a resource; but it was not advantageous to the Milanese. Obietto was a venal soul, who suffered himself to be purchased in turns by the archiepiscopal doge, and the pirate Paul Fulgoso, against Milan; by Milan against Adorno; by Adorno against the Milanese, and by the Milanese against Baptist Fulgoso, the son of Peter,

the ancient doge of Genoa, killed in the streets while attempting to subdue it.

1480. Every thing now conspired to occasion the entire destruction of the Milanese authority in Genoa. The people would no longer suffer it to be mentioned. The nobility were wavering; but they detested Prosper Adorno, who according to every appearance was not so much devoted to them as they wished. They joined themselves to John Baptist Fulgosio, though he was himself not free from suspicion, and assisted him to get rid of Adorno. The latter thought himself perfectly sure of this Fulgosio, who had sold himself at a pretty dear rate; but other purchasers having bid more, he had espoused their party. Adorno knew nothing of this change till he was attacked by Fulgosio, almost in his palace. He immediately fled, and with great difficulty reached the sea shore, followed by the hootings of the populace and showers of stones. At that time there were some Neapolitan galleys in sight of the port. A signal was made to them; but as they did not approach with sufficient speed, the rector threw himself into the sea, and having got on board by swimming, was soon out of the reach of his enemies.

The Genoese now deliberated what kind of a government they should adopt. John Baptist Fulgosio gave great satisfaction to his countrymen, by appearing to consult them; for every thing was settled by the chiefs of the two parties



of Fiesco and Fulgofio, and even with the king of Naples; and it had been agreed that they should no longer think of the Milanese authority, but return to their doge. John Baptist Fulgofio, who had caused himself to be so well paid by all parties, was elected and invested with the supreme power, subject to the controul of a council of eight magistrates, chosen by the people. To console the nobility, on account of many arrangements made without their concurrence, the people had the condescension to choose two thirds of their magistrates from that body.

Some pretend that John Baptist Fulgofio, <sup>1483.</sup> though involved in all these intrigues, had no propensity to them; that he only complied with the wishes of his family; and that his taste inclined him to study the belles-letters, and that tranquillity which enhances their charms. As a prudent man, however, accommodates himself to circumstances, he submitted to the load of government, and discharged with punctuality its laborious duties. But he never proceeded farther. Neither his family, nor the chiefs of the other houses, derived any advantage from his dignity. These ambitious men could not confine themselves to the same moderation. Being informed one day that Paul Fulgofio, his uncle, the archbishop of Genoa, of whom so much has been already said, wished to receive him in his palace, the doge repaired thither without guards or any

other precaution, and found an assembly of persons; who by their looks did not seem to entertain a very favourable disposition towards him. They indeed gave him to understand, in pretty plain terms, that the Genoese were tired of his government, and that for the good of the public he must immediately resign in favour of his uncle. The doge, struck with a kind of torpor on hearing this unexpected address, said a few words with a faltering accent; abdicated his office, and withdrew. The archbishop was therefore elected doge for the third time.

His vices, which he had never repressed, continued openly to manifest themselves: but his military talent, the only virtue he had ever shewn, became eclipsed. He saw with indifference his countrymen and subjects beaten by the Florentines; and he did not even indemnify them for their losses by internal peace, which was always interrupted by his misconduct. Instead, however, of depriving him of all authority, they were satisfied with subjecting him to a certain degree of restraint, by associating with him as counsellors ten of the principal citizens, who were called decemvirs.

1487. Fulgosio was afraid that this might be only a preliminary step to his deposition. He endeavoured, therefore, to secure the protection of Milan, and connected himself to that court by the marriage of his natural son Frigiosin with

Clara, a natural daughter of the late duke John Galeazo. This precaution let the Genoese know what they had to apprehend, and what they dreaded was realised. Paul Fulgofio procured for the Milanese as much authority in Genoa as he could; and the Genoese, on the eve of being totally subjugated, offered themselves again to France. Charles VIII. accepted this offer, and promised them assistance; but as he was slow in sending it, the republic fearing the worst, received a governor from the hand of the duke of Milan. He was still an Adorno, who acknowledged that he held the government only for ten years, in the name of Louis Sforza, called the Moor.

A pretty correct idea may be formed of the political state of Genoa, if we compare the people to a sick person, always suffering from disease, trying every thing to procure health, and putting confidence, without distinction, in able physicians, as well as empyrics, who promise him relief: the nobility to men of a strong constitution, who being sound and robust, give no credit to the diseases of others, and require from them the same services as if they enjoyed good health; and in the last place, the neighbouring powers to quacks, indifferent respecting the success of their advice and their drugs, provided they can enrich themselves by them. Louis the Moor promised to the Genoese prosperity, justice, and tranquillity; but when he had gained them over, and



found them obedient to his authority, he involved them in wars undertaken merely for his own advantage. The minds of the people being in an irritated state, they were the more sensible of the burthen of the taxes. The nobility, who were little disposed to participate in the load, pretended that they complained without cause. A slight indisposition, if neglected or dispised, becomes a serious malady. Their dejection was succeeded by transports of madness; which, though not mortal to the republic, weakened its strength so much that it was long in a languishing condition.

The Adorno abused the power entrusted to them, in order that they might take vengeance on their enemies, and commit with impunity every kind of excess. The discontent of the people would have burst forth in fatal reprisals, had it not been for the prudence of Courandola Stanga, the resident whom Louis kept at Genoa, who several times suspended the animosity of the two parties, when ready to proceed to hostilities. He secured also to Louis, with equal dexterity, the affection of the Genoese, and hence it happened that when this prince quarrelled with Charles VIII. whom he himself had invited to Italy, the Genoese gave to the duke of Milan every possible assistance. But when fortune began to desert Louis, and when the French, calling forth an immense force, seemed

to announce the greatest success, the Genoese declared for the most powerful, and anticipated the conqueror, by submitting to his authority. Louis XII. the successor of Charles VIII. accepted their homage, and promised to support them against Louis.

As this assistance did not speedily arrive, the <sup>1500.</sup> Genoese were apprehensive that the duke of Milan, who was not yet in a distressed state, might again attack them, and avenge himself for their defection. They created, therefore, a council of twelve magistrates, to whom they gave authority to pursue such measures as were necessary for the defence of the city; and when they began to enjoy the pleasure of regulating their own affairs, they became less disposed to suffer themselves to be governed by a foreign power.

They were not, however, displeased with the government of Louis XII. who was an affable and benevolent prince. During the three months he resided at Genoa, they shewed him every possible mark of attachment; and it was on account of these testimonies of esteem, that the first quarrel took place between the nobility and the plebeians. They disputed with each other who should support the canopy at the time of the monarch's entrance. The prince decided in favour of the plebeians; but this was merely an

empty parade. The solid advantages; that is to say, dignities and places, remained with the nobility, even during the abode of the king, and much more so after his departure. The governors, sent thither by France, being selected from the class of the nobles, besides the inclination which their birth inspired, were disposed also to defend the nobility, as being the firmest support of monarchic government. This partiality gave more offence to the people, as the nobility abused the ascendancy which they had been suffered to acquire over them. As they took very little pains to avoid giving them disgust, they inflamed their hatred by every kind of bad treatment; and did not conceal the contempt they entertained for all those who were comprehended under the appellation of the people.

1510.

The people, tired of being continually exposed to the insults of young men, proud of their birth and their riches, we at length incensed by their arrogance; and after various acts of provocation and public quarrels, which evinced their secret disposition, they openly declared their pretensions. They signified and insisted, with that warmth which the populace generally shew in their desires and passions, that all employments in future should be divided among the three principal bodies of the state: the nobility, merchants, and artisans. This was a new division, which the



nobility would not suffer to be mentioned. They even treated it with the utmost ridicule. The two bodies, they said, the merchants and artisans, formed only one; and if they granted this demand, the people would possess two-thirds of the offices. The people, on the other hand, maintained that it was not agreeable to justice that the nobility, who did not make a third of the citizens, should appropriate to themselves one half of the dignities and employments. Some of the nobility, who no doubt possessed more judgment, did not think the desire of the people altogether unreasonable. The plebeians insisted on a decision; but obstacles were thrown in the way by the nobility, who hoped to derive benefit from protracting the time. The people, becoming impatient, removed these obstacles by those means which they generally find successful. They took up arms, and the governor granted them every thing they required. With his consent they created twelve popular magistrates, on whom they conferred the noble title of *Pacificators*. They wrote to the king, and the council approved these arrangements; but in less time than would be required to go from Paris to Genoa, the pacification was broken.

Whether the rupture was occasioned by the people or the nobility, when the former rose in a mass, the latter being always the weaker party,

were expelled. They raised a violent outcry, and their complaints resounded even in the court of France. The council was highly offended because the people had not waited for the ratification of their demands, which was in their favour, or because it was not respected when communicated to them. Louis XII. sent a governor well attended, who made his entry with a formidable escort, and the gloomy thoughtful air of a Boucicaut; but he had neither his talents nor firmness. He suffered the people to create eight *tribunes* from among their own body; and this act of election gave them absolute authority, and annihilated that of the other magistrates.

This arrangement displeased even the chiefs of the people, and not without reason. The tribunes, anxious to preserve their temporary power, courted with affectation the favour of the populace, while the banditti and desperadoes, with whom the city was filled, being sure of protection, abandoned themselves with impunity to the utmost licentiousness. They proceeded to such excess, that the tribunes could not help consenting to the introduction of regular troops, to overawe the offenders. A desire of establishing some kind of police, gave rise a plan for creating a council of thirty-six popular citizens, and of suppressing every other magistracy. Recourse was afterwards had to a small number of chiefs, but inferior to that of the tribunes. The latter were

eight: the new created regents four. The governor, incensed at the insults offered to him by opposing his orders, sometimes openly, and sometimes by indirect violations, abandoned the Genoese to themselves, and quitted the city.

The tribunes then re-appeared, and no longer made a mystery of the design they entertained of freeing themselves from the yoke of France. They allowed no person to shew indifference on this subject. The chief plebeians as well as the nobility, who took no share in these commotions, were persecuted as suspected of attachment to the French government, and of favouring its views. Those, however, who possessed prudence and moderation, did not despair of bringing the people to listen to conciliatory measures; but their orators, by their violent speeches, still kept them in a state of effervescence. Threatened with an attack from Louis XII. they suggested to them that it might be proper to solicit the assistance of the emperor. The people, suffering themselves to be persuaded, pulled down the banners of France, and hoisted in their stead those of the emperor. They chose from their own class a doge named Paul Novi, by trade a dyer. Under this man, who wanted neither spirit nor courage, the Genoese gained advantages over the nobles, who seconded by some French troops, had made their appearance in the envi-



rons of their city.. Elated by this success, they then laid siege to the citadel.

Louis XII. after long hesitation, at length resolved to march against Genoa. As he approached, consternation was spread throughout the whole city. The inhabitants were no longer those courageous people, so zealous for the defence of their liberty. The populace, their criminal tribunes, and the refractory chiefs, laying aside that pompous language which they had before employed, observed silence, and knew neither what they were doing nor what they ought to do; yet, after their first dejection, they recovered themselves a little, and took some precautionary measures for their own defence. They divided among the peasants, who had fled to the city in great trepidation, the houses deserted by the nobility. The gates were shut, and the streets were barricaded with iron chains and logs of timber. Thus every citizen entrenched himself in his own home, and the houses were filled with arms, stones, and beams, as if every individual had been about to sustain a siege.

But all the inhabitants were far from being of the same opinion, in regard to defence. The greater number, the wealthiest and the most prudent, declared for submission; but the tribunes and the orators did not cease to animate the courage of the populace. Being, however, several times beaten, they were struck with terror and

began to change their opinion. The tribunes, the orators, and the doge, fearing the effect of this change, and apprehensive lest they should be arrested by their accomplices, with a view of obtaining forgiveness, made their escape in the night time. The magistrates and the principal citizens, when freed from this tyranny, thought of nothing but procuring pardon. Genoa surrendered at discretion, and had no cause to repent of the confidence it placed in Louis XII. The monarch indeed assumed an air of alarming severity, and appeared on his throne surrounded by soldiers, whose threatening looks seemed calculated to inspire terror. The Genoese, convoked before the sovereign, prostrate and trembling, were silently waiting for their sentence, while gibbets were erected in the grand square, and in several quarters of the city. Some of the most mutinous chiefs, malefactors, and profligates, stained with crimes, were executed; sentence of banishment against sixty more was publicly read; and an amnesty was granted to all the rest. The air resounded with the acclamations of those who returned thanks for their deliverance, while some remarked that Louis had in his coat of arms an emblem which inspired them with confidence, amidst the general terror. It was a mother bee with the following words: "She makes no use  
" of a sting."

The city was now deprived of its privileges, and the diplomas were burnt. Louis caused a citadel, called *Fort de la Lanterne*, to be erected, and imposed a fine to defray the expences of the war. After the first tumult had subsided, search was made for the authors of the revolt. Demetrius Justiniani, who, through an inconsiderate zeal for liberty, had been engaged in all the intrigues, though a man in other respects endowed with excellent qualities, and much esteemed, was condemned to be beheaded: a lesson for even honest men to be on their guard in factious times. It was discovered by his deposition, that pope Julius II. had taken a great share in the commotions of Genoa. The duke of Milan, as already seen, had been concerned in them also; and the Venetians, the king of Naples, and all the petty princes of Italy, contributed their part, particularly at Pisa, to which the doge, Paul de Novi, with a few of the tribunes and their adherents, had fled for shelter. Paul was taken, brought back to Genoa, and executed on that spot which had before been the scene of his triumph. Louis XII. left behind him a governor, furnished with excellent instructions and charged with severe orders; but the rage of faction prevailed over all his precautions and prudence.

De Lannoi, the first governor, a wise and moderate man, being unable to support the embar-



trassment and chagrin to which he was exposed by continual cabals, requested that he might be recalled. His successor, who had more firmness, finding that he displeased the people, desired to be recalled also. The unfortunate Genoese, harassed and harassing others, were a sport to the passions of the neighbours by whom they were surrounded, and of intriguing spirits who resided among them. Having become subjects of France, they saw themselves exposed to the efforts of the league formed against that country, by the pope, the Venetians, and the Swifs. It fell entirely on them, with a whole horde of discontented nobility. The city was often threatened, sometimes with a regular siege, and sometimes with a surprise.

Peter Fregosa had been appointed doge, and <sup>1512.</sup> was succeeded by Janus Fregosa. The French governor, not being able to prevent these elections, retired into fort de la Lanterne, which was blockaded by the Genoese. The Adorno, rivals of the Fregosa, declared even in the heart of the city for the besiegers. Jerome de Fiesco was assassinated by the brothers of the doge; and the Fiesco and the Adorno uniting, expelled the doge Janus and his whole family. Anthony Adorno was acknowledged as governor by the French. He maintained himself as long as the French prospered; but after their defeat at Novara, the Fregosa returned to the city, and expelled the

Fiesco and the Adorno. Octavian Fregosa drove the French from fort de la Lanterne, but the success of Francis I. induced the doge to listen to an accommodation, and he agreed to become governor of Genoa, as Adorno had been, for the king of France.

1527. Francis I. having experienced a fatal reverse at Pavia, Genoa was involved in his misfortunes, and notwithstanding the efforts of Octavian Fregosa, was taken by assault by the imperial army, and pillaged. The doge was made prisoner, and died of grief. The Adorno, having become masters of the city, under the protection of the Imperialists, Anthony Adorno was elected doge. The French, who recovered their former influence, invited Adorno to join them, promising that they would leave to him the supreme authority, and the title of governor, as they had done to the Fregosa. Adorno rejected their offer, and undertook to defend Genoa against the French army; but his strength was not equal to his hopes. Genoa was obliged to surrender, but it obtained favourable terms. The French entered the city in the greatest order, and except plundering the palace, which could not be prevented, committed no excess. Genoa was indebted for its safety to Andrew Doria, who being equally esteemed by both parties, enabled the French to make themselves masters of the city without injury to his fellow citizens. Doria, a celebrated navigator,

and a very able general, had hitherto been of great service to France; but through some court intrigues was involved in a quarrel with Francis I. Charles V. always ready to take advantage of the false steps of his rival, gained over the Genoese admiral, in hopes of depriving the French monarch of the dominion of Genoa, even if he should not obtain it for himself.

As the emperor had hoped, Doria formed a <sup>1528</sup> plan for wresting Genoa from France, and with that view took advantage of a fatal circumstance, which was however favourable to his views. The city was ravaged by the plague, and the principal citizens had deserted it. Doria, who had been suspected by the French, ever since his quarrel with their court, though obliged to leave Genoa, still kept up a secret correspondence with his friends. Trivulcio, the French governor, being uneasy on account of some movements, which could not escape his notice, remained at his post in the city; but with such a force as was suited to the ruined state of the French affairs in Italy, that is to say, two companies of militia, and a hundred Swiss guards. He had, indeed, sent for a reinforcement of troops, but the dread of the plague had prevented them from approaching the city.

Doria, who did not give them time to arrive, appeared in the harbour, under the imperial flag. Deputies were immediately sent on board his ves-



fel by the citizens, to beg that he would not renew in the city the horrors of civil war, and to request him to retire. The admiral communicated to them his views, which were calculated to inspire them with confidence; and landed at the head of only five hundred men. These soldiers dispersing themselves throughout the streets, made them resound with shouts of St. George and Liberty! shouts highly agreeable to the Genoese, who had not heard them for a long time. Trivulcio, abandoned even by his own Swiss guard, retired for safety into the castle, which only fired a few guns. This revolution, the most useful that the republic ever experienced, was the work of a moment, and effected with very little bloodshed.

The same day a tumultuous assembly was held, in which Doria was honoured with the title of father and deliverer of his country. Another, more regular, took place next morning, and was attended by the most considerable citizens in the neighbourhood. The nomination of twelve commissioners, who had been appointed the preceding year, for the purpose of reforming the government, was renewed; but Doria modestly refused to be one of them, that he might give no umbrage to his fellow-citizens. The result of their labour was a plan of government, which became the basis of the present constitution of the repub-

lic, except a few changes produced by time and circumstances.

To prevent those cruel dissensions, which had given birth to the different factions of the Guelphs and the Ghibelines, the nobility and the plebeians, the merchants and artisans, it was determined that a state should be formed of all the families, whether noble or plebeian, who might have six houses at Genoa; and that these families should become as it were the mothers of the nobility; that those who did not possess that number should be united to the mother families, under the names of these families, of which they should be so many branches. The Fulgosio, Adorno, Montalto, Guarco, and other ancient families, acknowledged as noble in their own right, were not included in that list, and this afterwards gave rise to the distinction between the new and old nobility. There were only twenty-eight families who actually possessed six houses. They were declared noble as well as all those who were then aggregated to them. They were allowed also to aggregate ten persons every year; and it was resolved that in future the doge, and the magistrates should be chosen from these twenty-eight families, and those annexed to them. By means of this arrangement, suited to the noble and the rich, all those who are not comprehended in this kind of register, as they form only

the populace and the most ignoble part of the nation, are excluded from the government.

The duration of the dogeship was confined to two years; and his power was restrained by giving him, under the pretence of assistance, a privy council composed of eight governors, without whose advice he could do nothing: this is what is called the *seigneurie*. To these were added, in a lower class, eight magistrates, named *procurators*. The grand council, which assembles for the most important affairs, is composed of four hundred citizens: the lesser, chosen from among the great, consists of a hundred. The latter, after some discussion, proposes for the dogeship four citizens to the grand council, which alone has the right of electing the doge by a plurality of voices; but it must always confine itself to one of the four candidates proposed by the lesser council. In the last place, the general affairs are in common managed by the senate.

There are a great number of other magistrates, for the police, the direction of the bank of Saint George, and for trying civil and criminal causes. The chief of those appointed for the last-mentioned business is named the *podestat*, and must be a foreigner; but the most important of these tribunals is that of the censors, five in number. Their functions continue four years, so that one of them goes out every eight months. Their em-



ployment is to examine the conduct of all those who retire from the different offices, and even that of the doge himself, and to give a report on the subject. Of all these functions and dignities, Andrew Doria would accept none but that of censor; and by a special privilege, never renewed in favour of any other person, it was continued to him for life. The command of the troops was given to Phillippin Doria, his nephew: the republic caused two statues of their benefactor to be erected, and built for him a magnificent palace. By his councils Genoa preserved the good will of the emperor, and became reconciled with the French, after the latter had made some vain attempts to recover their authority; and resisted the attacks of several citizens who endeavoured to excite new commotions.

Under the shade of the laurels of Doria, and the shelter of that liberty which had been restored to it by this great man, Genoa still breathed after the fatigue, violent convulsions, and civil storms by which it had been so often agitated. An ambitious young man, however, named John Louis de Fiesco, count of Lavagne, attempted to disturb this tranquillity, and to subjugate his country. He is said to have been endowed with every amiable quality, added to great ardour of mind; to have possessed much coolness in his conduct; an apparent taste for pleasure, and that careless and indifferent air which banishes suf-

picion, together with profound dissimulation under the mask of candour. With an imagination proper for conceiving a plan, and judgment and method to arrange its minutest parts, he possessed sufficient boldness to carry it into execution. He had need of these qualities to attack Andrew Doria, who was indeed fourscore, and enfeebled by age, but still surrounded by his reputation as with a rampart. However merited it might be, it exposed him to the attacks of the envious. These, Fiesco found means to discover, and to some of them he opened himself freely in regard to his designs. From others, this able conspirator concealed his views; and under a pretence of promoting the public good induced them to pursue steps favourable to his projects.

Every thing being thus prepared, Fiesco had to surmount only one difficulty, which was to separate from a spouse whom he adored, and who to the graces of external figure added great solidity of judgment. He had not concealed from her his project. As long as she beheld it at a distance she shewed no signs of alarm, but when the moment of execution approached, her affection represented to her mind the whole extent of the danger. Fiesco accosted her with a bold and confident look. "I am about to depart, madam," said he. "I shall place Genoa at your feet. You shall never see your husband but conqueror" On these words, she threw her-

self into his arms and shed a torrent of tears. She endeavoured to detain him but he remained inflexible. As he knew the magnanimous heart of his spouse, he flattered himself, for a moment, that he had revived her courage, by making her acquainted with the means he had pursued to ensure success, and the necessity there was for completing an enterprise already so far advanced. She listened to him with every emotion of grief, and still shedding tears, on account of the cruel necessity by which he was urged, gave way to the pressing motives of her husband, and bade him a tender farewell. But when she found herself obliged to part from him, she fainted, notwithstanding the courage she had assumed. Fiesco took advantage of this moment, tore himself from her, and hastened to the spot where his friends were waiting for him.

The signal being given at midnight, the conspirators dispersed themselves throughout the streets, crying out, Fiesco! Fiesco! a name rendered dear to the multitude by the excellent qualities of the count de Lavagna, and the acts of kindness he had done to them. The posts which had been previously marked for attack were soon carried; and the alarm-bell resounded in every quarter. The senators were thrown into great consternation, and repaired in a tumultuous manner to the palace, from which they sent deputies to treat with Fiesco, who by the shouts of the



populace was known to be at the head of this enterprize. Search therefore was made for him, and both friends and enemies called out his name, but no one answered. While all were astonished at this silence, Verina, one of the conspirators, and the dearest of his confidants, who had been ordered to take possession of the port, was informed that a plank, which conducted to one of the galleys, was broken down. Apprehensive that some accident had happened, he ordered the place to be searched, and found the body of his unfortunate friend. The plank, no doubt, had given way under his feet, and the weight of his armour had prevented him from extricating himself from the mud into which he had sunk.

The news of this terrible catastrophe flew from mouth to mouth; the arms dropped from the hands of the conspirators, who now thought only of saving themselves, and from that moment Genoa found itself free. Andrew Doria had been in danger of losing his life in the tumult; but he fortunately made his escape from the city in proper time. His return was a kind of triumph. He is accused of having persecuted the conspirators with a fury which had the appearance of personal vengeance; and this animosity gave more offence, as Fiesco, who was not cruel, had taken every possible precaution to prevent pillage and the effusion of blood.

Doria died in 1560, at an advanced age, full

of glory. Before his death he had contributed towards a reconciliation between the new and the old nobles ; but he was not able to banish from the republic every germ of discord. It was imagined that a curb would be opposed to the restless disposition of the nation, by giving very ample powers to the censors. Their eyes were to be continually directed to every thing that took place in the houses of individuals ; but their vigilance was not always able to prevent intrigues, which endangered the safety of the republic. These temporary commotions, however, as they did not affect the essential part of government, deserve very little attention. It will, therefore, be sufficient to mention the ill concerted, and badly conducted, projects of a few restless citizens who, from time to time, occasioned some uneasiness ; and to trace out, in a cursory manner, the tumultous events produced by the situation of Genoa, and its necessary connection with the powers by which it is surrounded.

A little patience on the part of Fiesco might, perhaps, have enabled him, without the trouble of a conspiracy, to effect the wished for changes in the government ; as a quarrel, which he could have employed for accomplishing his end, broke out between the old and the new nobility. The people took no part in this dispute, which was terminated by the establishment of a new law. On this occasion Charles V. proposed to the Ge-

noese to build a citadel for them, and to furnish them for its defence with a garrison, which they were to pay; and to have under their own immediate command; but they prudently refused, and thanked the generous emperor for his good intention. Charles's pretext was a secret and ardent attachment, which some of the Genoese had to France, and of which symptoms still appeared. The partisans of the French favoured the attempts of this republic in Corsica, when it became a subject of dispute between them and the imperialists.

1574- In 1574, the disputes between the old and new nobility were renewed. The people took a share in them, and interested themselves for the latter. The old nobility solicited the protection of the empire, and of Spain. At this period there were three factions: that of the ancient nobility, who styled themselves the nobles of the portico of St. Luke; that of the new, distinguished by the name of the nobles of the portico of St. Peter; and the citizens, or populace, not aggregated to the twenty-eight families. The last made a common cause with the new nobility, to whose party they formed a considerable reinforcement. The old nobility, that they might be on an equal footing, requested troops from the Spanish ambassador; but the number sent were not sufficiently strong to support them. The greater part of them, therefore, quitted the city, and retired to the territories of Spain. The pope and



the other Italian powers, exerted themselves to allay these commotions, with which, they were afraid, their own states might be infected; but the new nobility and the citizens rejected all mediation, being encouraged to do so by the interference of France, which promised them assistance.

The rich citizens, however, durst not openly declare against Spain, because that monarchy, being well acquainted with the foible of these opulent and commercial people, had been artful enough to borrow from them large sums, for which it paid even eighteen *per cent*, under a persuasion, that the fear of losing their capital would be a better check to restrain them, than all the fortresses and citadels in the world. They were induced, indeed, by this consideration, to submit to arbiters; and a peace was concluded, after four years discord, during which they had looked at each other with an eye of jealousy, but without coming to blows, like pugilists who threaten, and yet are afraid of each others strength. A magistrate was created, called the *conservator of the laws*, whose office was to cause the old laws to be executed, and to prevent the formation of new ones. As the republic enjoyed tranquillity, it began to prosper. The doge in 1581 assumed the title of *most serene*, in imitation of that of Venice. Genoa admitted the ecclesiastical inquisition, but considerably moderated. A more terrible tribu-

nal is that of the state inquisitors, established in 1625. These magistrates are entrusted with the management of the internal police. Their vigilant eyes must be open to every thing that takes place in Genoa; and even in the bosom of families, to prevent those plots which might be formed against the state.

1628.

This prying vigilance, however troublesome, is always useful in a republic, and becomes necessary when it finds itself involved in a quarrel with powerful and jealous neighbours. Such was the situation of Genoa, in 1628, attacked by the duke of Savoy, who was supported by France. This dangerous neighbour often gave the most serious alarm to the republic, either by attacking it from without, or by fomenting its internal troubles and favouring those who excited them. With this view the duke inflamed the resentment of Vachero, a rich plebeian, who had been insulted by the nobility. The succour, which the duke of Savoy held forth to the malcontents, inspired him with boldness to form a plan for extending his vengeance to all the nobility, and changing the government of his country. The measures had been well concerted; but the conspiracy was defeated by misplaced confidence. Vachero was beheaded, together with three of his accomplices, notwithstanding the efforts made by the duke of Savoy to save him. The desire of obtaining a superiority over Genoa has always made the dukes

of Savoy ready to listen to and assist every adventurer capable of entering into their views.

Such was Raphael de la Torrè, a Genoese <sup>1672.</sup> lawyer, and one of the boldest intriguers who ever appeared. Having quitted the service of the grand duke of Tuscany, he had travelled through the greater part of Italy with a view of making his fortune. Every kind of means appeared to him proper, provided he could accomplish his end. When he returned to his native country, he collected a troop of banditti, and embarking with them on board a small brig, captured in the Genoese seas a rich felucca, bound to Leghorn. Notwithstanding the precaution of masks and disguised dress, they were all recognised; and being prosecuted by the owners of the vessel, the crime was proved, and la Torrè was outlawed and condemned to be hung.

Being excluded from his country, in consequence of this sentence, he resolved to return, by some means or other, in order to be revenged. He presented himself, therefore, at the court of the duke of Savoy, where he was well received; and, having obtained a company of cuirassiers, communicated to the duke a well-concerted plan for making himself successively master of Savona and Genoa. As it was necessary for him to have an agent in the latter, he applied to one Vico, a man of low birth, and equally intriguing as himself. Vico, however, betrayed him and revealed



the secret. He was rewarded for this service, and a price was set on the head of la Torrè; but as the duke, on the faith of this intrigue, had made preparations, he was unwilling that they should be entirely fruitless. He declared war; but it continued only a year with various success, and was terminated by a peace, which gave a mortal blow to the credit of la Torrè at the court of Savoy.

He endeavoured, however, to maintain himself in favour by offering to the duke to seize, in the time of perfect peace, two Genoese vessels, richly laden, which were on their way home from the Indies. This proposal being rejected, he resolved to execute his vengeance against the Genoese by himself alone. His project was nothing less than to blow up the hall where the council assembled, together with the council, by means of a box of fire-works, to be placed below the edifice; but the machine was fortunately discovered and stopped on the frontiers. An infernal invention of the like kind had been before employed, by la Torrè, to avenge himself on Vico, who luckily escaped the explosion.

La Torrè engaged in alchemy and the illusion of magic like most intriguers; deceived others and was deceived himself; and went about to different courts, where he dispersed memoirs filled with his projects. Being neglected or despised, he endeavoured to acquire a reputation of he-

roism; served in the French army during the German war, and distinguished himself by his bravery. Having become tired of the profession of arms, he proceeded to Holland, and purchased at Amsterdam the freedom of the city, that he might be qualified for some public office; but losses at play obliged him to retire to Venice, the country of masquerades and intrigue, where he was assassinated at the age of thirty-six.

Were we to follow the vicissitudes of Genoa, we should be astonished at the changes to which it has been exposed, at periods not very remote from each other. The friend and enemy of France, Spain, the Empire, and Savoy; in a word, involved, either voluntarily or through force, in every war; carested by those who had need of its assistance, and oppressed afterwards by those who had flattered it, or left, after the most specious promises, at the mercy of the enemy which they had excited against it. Genoa experienced this fate from the princes leagued against Louis XIV. They compelled the republic to declare against him, and deserted it when they had accomplished the object of their wishes.

That monarch, incensed at the conduct of the Genoese, covered their seas with his fleets. Seignelay, an imperious minister, made known, from on board his vessel, the orders of his master, who required humiliating measures, and he allowed the citizens only five hours to deliberate on their

answer. When this period had expired, the city was attacked with a shower of bombs, by which some of the finest edifices were destroyed, while others, in different parts, were set on fire. The inhabitants fled in the utmost consternation, and retired for shelter to places which lay at the greatest distance from the port. The senate sent proposals; but Seignelay remained inflexible, and insisted on the terms first offered. The people, less jealous than the senate of the point of honour, obliged them to submit, and, in consequence of a convention, concluded through the mediation of the pope, the doge went to France, accompanied by four senators, to make a public apology to the king. The monarch gave to this ceremony as much dignity as possible, but at the same time added all those graces which could soften the bitterness of the submission. He caused the most flattering honours to be paid to the deputation, and treated them himself with every mark of respect. But his ministers were neither so condescending nor so polite, which made the doge say: "The king deprives us of liberty by captivating our hearts, but his ministers restore it to us by their haughtiness."

During the war of the Spanish succession, the Genoese, wavering and uncertain, were often exposed to the extortion of both parties. They, for the most part, experienced this fate of war in the quarrels of France with the house of Austria.



Their opulence was a flattering lure to the hordes of Pandours, Croats, and other irregular troops, of which the army of the queen of Hungary was composed at the time of her invasion of Italy.

Genoa, after seeing its territories ravaged, was 1746. obliged to surrender to the marquis de Botta, the Austrian general, who took peaceable possession of the city, and, having placed a garrison in it, imposed a contribution of twenty-four millions, to be paid within a month. The Genoese did not imagine that it would have been so high, and they still less expected the demands which followed: viz. that they should furnish clothing for thirty thousand troops; that they should restore to the queen the diamonds and other pledges she had given, as security for the large sums borrowed from them, and which, consequently, they would lose; and that they should furnish, as a free gift, tents, wood, forage, and provisions. From those who did not give with a good grace, the imperialists took by force.

The people endured their sufferings with a gloomy silence: a disposition always dangerous. Botta, having no dread of abusing his power, required the senate, contrary to the tenor of the capitulation, to give up their heavy artillery. As they durst not refuse, the Germans dragged them in triumph through the streets of the city. The carriage of one of the guns happening to break in a narrow street, the German officer who com-

of

manded the party, incensed at the indifference of the Genoese, who shewed no readiness to assist in getting the damage repaired, struck one of the spectators with his cane. The latter in return stabbed the officer with his knife. The Germans having attempted to revenge their wounded commander, the people took the part of their countryman; armed themselves with whatever weapons they could find, and seizing a few pieces of artillery, directed them against the Germans. The troops retired to their posts, and made some resistance, but were driven from them, and soon after from all the Genoese territories.

In 1797 the republic was involved in new troubles, which, as usual, were accompanied with exile, proscription, and the effusion of blood. It was impossible that a people, so fond of novelties, should not have a share in the revolution which changed all the governments of Italy. That of Genoa experienced alterations or improvements. Time will shew what name ought to be given to this new catastrophe. It appears, however, by the conduct which that republic has observed, during several years, that it wished to preserve itself from these commotions; but whatever measures it may take, the wars of its neighbours must always involve it in ruin. Being an opulent city, pretences will never be wanting to those desirous of attacking it, because they know that it is able to pay the conquerors, and to in-

demnify the conquered. Such is the fate predicted for the state of Genoa, which now prides itself in the new name of the Ligurian republic.

### CORSICA.

CORSICA is about a hundred leagues in circumference. The air is mild, but not so warm as in Provence, because it is always cooled by the sea-breezes. This island has excellent ports, near which are four or five pretty considerable towns. The capital, named Corte, stands in the centre, at a place where two chains of mountains which traverse the island cross each other. The situation of Corte renders it exceedingly strong.

Corfica, an island in the sea of Provence.

The mountains are well covered with wood. On the summits of some of them are lakes, maintained by the snow that continually lies on these eminences, and from which streams of the purest water, perhaps in the world, flow down into the plains. They abound with excellent fish, as well as the surrounding sea. Corfica contains mineral springs, and consequently metals; copper, silver, and even gold, together with quicksilver, iron extremely ductile, alum, sulphur, and calamine; marble, granite, jasper, and porphyry are not uncommon. The loadstone, and a few



turquoises are also sometimes found. The soil is proper for grain of every kind. It produces wheat sufficient for the consumption of the inhabitants, and would produce more with proper cultivation. The fruit of the chefnut-tree, which is so prodigiously abundant, that the horses are fed with it, and which can be collected with very little trouble, renders the men indolent. The honey has a sharp taste, because the plants from which it is collected are too strong. A great deal of good wine is made in the island. Pastures are rare, but some might be formed by art. The *mouflon*, which, according to Buffon, is the original stock of all the species of the sheep, is here indigenous. The island has plenty of game; and, as is said, no venomous animal. A great many phosphoric flies, more luminous than our glow-worm, are seen here in the night time. Five or six of them afford sufficient light to enable a person to read.

The present inhabitants are the descendants of so many nations, that it is difficult to give them a proper character. Strabo makes them to be brutal, stupid, and indolent; Pliny, just, generous, valiant, and humane. A modern historian describes them as turbulent and ferocious; another makes them compassionate, hospitable, and restless only when they have been harassed. The truth is, that people are found here of all charac-

ters. They are divided into *pieves*, or parishes. The clergy, in general, and the monks, possess great power.

It is probable that Corsica was first peopled by the Italians, Ligurians, or Etruscans. It was conquered by the Carthaginians, who behaved in it as tyrants; and when it fell into the hands of the Romans it only changed its oppressors. The Vandals, Goths, Lombards, and Saracens, by their ravages made the inhabitants sometimes regret their first masters. The French first entered this country under Charles Martel, about the year 725. The family of the Colonna established themselves as sovereigns of it about 800. This family was divided into several branches; whose pretensions produced troubles, followed by a state of anarchy, which was at its utmost height about the year 1000. The popes, to whom recourse was had to restore peace, thought they could remedy the evil by declaring themselves sovereigns of the island. Gregory VII. excommunicated the Genoese, as a sacrilegious people, unfaithful to the church, and usurpers of ecclesiastical property, because they had taken possession of it. In the year 1071, Urban II. sold the property of Corsica to the Pisans, for homage and a certain acknowledgment. Genoa disputed this donation or sale. Innocent II. divided the island into two rival republics. The Pisans, not being able to agree with the Corsicans, ceded their part to

Pope Urban IV. Boniface VIII. thought that a part carried with it the rest, and made a present of the whole island to the kings of Arragon.

The first known assembly of the Corsicans, as a national body, was held in the year 1359. The object of it was to take into consideration the evils which they suffered, both from the incursions of foreigners, who disputed with each other for the conquest of their country, and from the animosity of the nobility, who in certain districts exercised despotic authority. We have seen in the history of Genoa that they assumed the title of kings. The Genoese, who were then at the summit of their power, possessed a great part of the island. The Corsicans, by the advice of Sambuccio, a man rendered famous by his courage and exploits, proposed to the Genoese to associate them in the sovereignty of the whole island, provided they would assist them to expel the Pisans and the Aragonese, and to deliver themselves from the petty tyrants by whom they were oppressed. The clauses of this treaty, the infractions of which on both sides caused so many misfortunes to Corsica for more than four hundred years, are remarkable.

The Corsicans admit the Genoese to participate in the government of the island on the following conditions: The Genoese shall maintain there a governor and representative. There shall be formed a council, where natives of the most illustrious families shall have a seat, and the right



of deliberating and voting, along with the Genoese, in all the assemblies. The latter can make no innovations without the consent of the former; and no tax shall be imposed without their concurrence. The impost, in no circumstance, and under no pretence whatever, shall exceed twenty sours for each hearth. The titles of count, marquis, baron, &c. shall be retained, as well as the prerogatives which the Corsicans have enjoyed for time immemorial; and they shall not cease to be under the protection of the holy see.

The happiness produced by this semi-national administration continued only a few years; since after 1380 the Corsicans attempted to shake off the yoke they had imposed. The chiefs assembled privately, and chose as their head Henry de la Rocca, under whose command they took several of the Genoese garrisons; but Rocca was killed in an action, in the midst of his triumphs, and the Corsicans again submitted to the yoke. For a long time they participated in the fate of Genoa, their ruler; and, with it, belonged sometimes to the French, sometimes to the Milanese, and sometimes to the Neapolitans. At last they gave themselves up to the lords of Piombino, who sold them, about 1500, to the bank of St. George.

The Corsicans, being the object of this bargain, were desirous, as was reasonable, to make some conditions. This gave rise to new stipulations with the Genoese, that they would still im-

pose no more than twenty fous per hearth, and that they should sell salt at a moderate fixed price. Regulations were made also respecting the customs. The chanceries and tribunals were to be filled only by Corsicans. They were to elect annually twelve persons of their own nation, to watch over and maintain their privileges; and without the consent of these twelve magistrates, called the *twelve nobles*, no innovation could be made in the island. Causes were to be heard and determined by the *podestats*, established in each pieve. In the last place, the conduct of the officers of the bank of St. George, who held the government of the island, was to be subjected, on their quitting their offices, to the examination of a tribunal, called the *syndicat*, composed of twelve syndics, six Genoese and six Corsicans, three of the nobility, and three of the people, possessing an equal right of suffrage, and invested with the same authority.

It appears that this treaty, by which a whole nation became subject to the directors of a bank, gave uneasiness on reflection to the Corsicans, who found themselves more humiliated by it, as these bankers grew proud of their authority. In the wars which ensued, we observe, on the one hand, the peevishness of servitude, and on the other the malicious pleasure of triumphing over subjection. Not the contest of tyranny against liberty; but the struggle of wounded pride with imperious

haughtiness. It is very extraordinary that these passions shewed themselves here as active between one people and another, as between individuals.

If we can believe the Corsican historians, the Genoese, after having taken possession of the principal posts, and become masters of the island, treated their subjects with the most atrocious injustice. The persons sent thither to govern, in the name of the bank, in which the chief men of the Genoese republic were interested, received orders, in their instructions, to prevent both directly and indirectly the aggrandisement of families; to sow among them the seeds of discord, that they might destroy the one by the other, or at least to prevent their union; and to humble the nobility, and reduce the merchants to the plain state of clerks. As opposition was made to their oppressive measures, they thought, as all tyrants do, that they could render these unfortunate people more pliable by cruelty; and with that view employed fire and sword; destroyed above eighteen pieves, and reduced to ashes more than a hundred villages. It would appear that the governors vied with each other in barbarity. One of them convoked a council of the chief men of the island; gave them a grand entertainment; pressed them to drink copiously, and, at the end of the repast, called in some soldiers, who put them all to death. The heads of



the most illustrious families thus perished. More than four thousand fled; and the Genoese gave their estates to the poorest of their own countrymen who chose to go and establish themselves in the island.

1555.

This horrid transaction inflamed every heart with the most violent resentment; and, notwithstanding the precaution taken to humble the chiefs, the people found men ready to put themselves at their head as commanders. Warriors, who had been formed in foreign service, returned to assist their country; and their arrival excited the flames of civil war. The French, who were at that time enemies to the Genoese, assisted the Corsicans to break their chains. The war was carried on with uncommon ferocity. Neither the Corsicans nor the Genoese gave any quarter. Those who escaped the murderous sword were sold as slaves to the Turkish corsairs, which hovering around the island, waited for their merchandize, as the Europeans do on the coast of Guinea. If the French did not retain their conquests, as the Corsicans desired, they at any rate resigned them on conditions, which had they been observed, must have softened the fate of those they protected; but they were either eluded, or openly violated.

1563.

The oppressors entertained great dread of a nobleman, named San Pietro D'Ornano, esteemed by the French, among whom he had studied the

art of war, and beloved by his countrymen, who in him beheld their only resource. He had married a Genoese lady, named Vannina, whom he tenderly loved, and who remained at Marseilles, as an asylum, while San Pietro, filled with indignation against the persecutors of his country, made a voyage to Constantinople to solicit assistance from the Ottoman Porte. The Genoese, imagining that if they could get into their hands Vannina, they should be able, with that valuable hostage, to suspend the fury of her husband, employed traitors, who insinuating themselves into her confidence, persuaded her to repair to Genoa, under the flattering idea, that she might be able to bring about a reconciliation between her husband and the republic.

She was just on the point of departing for Genoa when San Pietro returned. Notwithstanding the purity of her intentions, he considered her as guilty of having preferred her country to her husband; and he declared that her crime deserved death. In vain did she throw herself at his feet; he allowed her only a quarter of an hour to prepare for eternity. The unfortunate Vannina resigned herself with firmness to her fate: "I do not entreat you for life," said she; "your suspicions, continually renewed, would render it far more painful to me than death. I request another favour: inflict the punishment yourself; from your hand death will be less terrible. Order

“ the executioners to withdraw. Vannina, who  
“ preferred you to all other men, will suffer no  
“ one to touch her but you.” The barbarian  
untied her garters, and, having embraced her,  
strangled her with his own hands.

After this action, it needs not be asked whether  
he behaved with ferocity to the Genoese, whom  
he considered as the causes of his crime. He  
carried on an obstinate and bloody war against  
them; but he fell into an ambuscade prepared  
for him by treachery. One of Vannina's brothers  
was among the enemy. San Pietro, though sur-  
prised, defended himself with great bravery; but  
his brother-in-law, who never suffered him to  
escape from his fight, having discharged his mus-  
quet at him, he instantly fell. He however raised  
himself up, recognised his wife's brother, and,  
exclaiming, “ I am a barbarian, Vannina is  
“ avenged,” sunk down and expired.

The war was carried on rather by sudden and  
unexpected attacks than by regular movements.  
In the course of two years, more than seventeen  
hundred Corsicans are said to have been assassi-  
nated. A few instances will serve to give some  
idea of the animosity of the two nations. On a  
certain occasion, when San Pietro was in danger  
of being overpowered by numbers, an officer,  
observing that his horse was exhausted, said to  
him: “ Take my horse: fly and save Corsica.  
“ Thy life is of more value than mine. If it be



“ my misfortune to fall into the hands of the Genoese, I do not fear the fate that awaits me.  
“ You will avenge my death by saving my country. When it shall be free, erect a monument  
“ with this inscription: Corrego died for Ornano,  
“ who is indebted to him for the honour of having saved Corfica.” He was indeed hanged.

Leonardi di Casa Nuova, San Pietro's lieutenant general, having unfortunately been taken prisoner, the Genoese resolved to inflict upon him severe punishment, in order to intimidate the rebels; but his youngest son, Antonio, found means to get into the prison, by disguising himself in the dress of the servant girl, who used to carry thither his father's meals, and thus enabled him to escape. The Genoese, without shewing the least respect for this act of filial piety, caused the young man to be hung from a window of the prison. The inhabitants of Bonifacio, almost all Genoese, exercised a refinement of vengeance in regard to Stephen Sardaignac, a Corsican captain, who had done them a great deal of hurt, and who, besides other injuries, had sold to the Turks several of their fellow citizens, who were his prisoners. When they got him into their possession, they compelled him, by every kind of torture, to erect a gibbet with his own hands, and then to hang himself.

The Genoese, perhaps, might have defended their empire in Corfica, from those convulsions

by which it was shaken, had they founded it on the confidence and affection of the people, but they thought of nothing but ruling through fear. They considered this island as a colony destined merely for enriching their capital. The Corsicans were forbidden, under the severest penalties, to export a single article from their island to any other place than Genoa, where they were obliged to sell their merchandise and productions at a low price. In years of scarcity, the island was stripped of its provisions by a kind of legalised pillage, so that the Corsicans were frequently exposed to all the horrors of famine, while their despots were living amidst abundance. The unfortunate Corsicans often attempted to deliver themselves from their miserable bondage. When Louis XIV. bombarded Genoa, they offered themselves to that prince, but he declined accepting their present. As they could not find a master who would receive them, they were obliged to remain under the Genoese, always oppressed and always submissive.

If unfortunate days were marked by the Romans with black chalk, those which elapsed after the Corsicans had again bent under the Genoese yoke, ought to have been marked with blood. One of the conditions of the treaty had been, that the Genoese should disarm the banditti, who had encreased during the civil war, and deliver the country from them; but these profligates,

always ready to engage in new crimes, were of the utmost value to a tyrannical government. The Genoese commanders, so far from fulfilling this article, courted their favour and protected them in a most scandalous manner. Every day produced some murder which alarmed the well disposed, while, on the other hand, the tax-gatherers exercised the most merciless rapacity against the people.

An unfortunate peasant, who only wanted two <sup>1729.</sup> sous to complete his tax, had been ill used by the collector. He was an old man, exceedingly poor, but of an excellent character, and greatly esteemed in the district where he resided. He reproached the tax-gatherers, on account of their extortion, with an energy which made an impression on those around. At the same time, a Corsican soldier was condemned, for some military crime, to the wooden horse. The Corsicans having made use of a few jocular expressions, in regard to this punishment, generally inflicted on the profligates of the army, gave occasion to a quarrel, and these feeble sparks produced a conflagration which soon set all Corsica in flames. The people armed themselves with musquets, old rusty lances, hatchets, and every thing they could lay their hands on. They employed these to force the military magazines, where they found more regular weapons, which they distributed. In a little time, they were no longer a multitude,



without order and without discipline: they were an army with chiefs, who knew how to make choice of proper posts, who took cities, dispersed manifestoes, and shewed clearly, by their pretensions, that the Corsicans did not wish to enter into a treaty with the Genoese, but were determined to expel them entirely from the island.

The Genoese, too weak to resist such a torrent, opposed to it German troops, whom they took into their pay. Instead of being frightened at the imperial banners, or of suffering themselves to be softened by an amnesty, which the senate of Genoa offered, the Corsicans, in a general assembly, decreed, that the first person who spoke of accepting that amnesty should be put to death. They sent their wives and children, with those enfeebled by age, to the mountains, and swore that they would expose themselves to a thousand deaths, rather than lay down their arms, whatever proposals might be made to them by the Genoese or the Imperialists. The latter, however, entered into a treaty for an accommodation, and, as they did not entertain against the Corsicans the same contemptuous hatred as the Genoese, but, on the contrary, treated them with respect and esteem, these islanders, after a contest of four years, always fatal, though glorious, suffered themselves to be brought to an agreement, under the guaranty of the emperor.

But no guaranty can restrain reciprocal animosity. At the end of two years, the troubles, which had been incompletely allayed, were again revived. The Corsicans openly revolted: they abjured, without hesitation, all dependance on Genoa, and openly declared themselves sovereigns, under the immaculate conception of the most blessed virgin Mary, whose image they had represented on their colours. The Genoese, at this time, had very few partisans in the island, and, as their garrisons were exceedingly weak, nothing was necessary but to prevent the arrival of reinforcements. While the inhabitants were keeping on the defensive with great activity, a stranger arrived in the Frankish dress: that is to say, a long scarlet robe, a cane, sword, peruke, and hat. He had in his suite twelve persons, consisting of an officer, who assumed the title of lieutenant colonel, a maitre d'hôtel, a major domo, a chaplain, a cook, three Moorish slaves, and four other domestics. He brought with him ten pieces of cannon, four thousand musquets, three thousand pair of shoes, a quantity of provisions, and a small supply of money. He was a gentleman of the county of Mark, in Westphalia, named Baron de Newhoff.

After leading the life of a knight errant in various countries of Europe, he had been detained at Genoa for debt, in the same prison where some of the Corsican malcontents were confined. Hav-

ing got acquainted with these people, he boasted to them of his influence in several of the courts of Europe, and offered to interest himself in their behalf. When the Corsicans were set at liberty, by the intercession of the emperor, they got the baron released also, on his giving security. He now exerted himself to procure money wherever he could, and by means of promises, and no doubt the attraction of great interest, he found Jews, at Rome and Leghorn, who supplied him with what was necessary to purchase provisions and military stores, which he put on board an English ship and set sail for Aleria.

When he arrived, the Corsicans imagined that they beheld a protecting deity, and, without much consulting the dictates of prudence, proclaimed the baron king of Corsica, under the name of Theodore I. The baron then assumed all the appendages of royalty, guards, and officers. He established tribunals, caused money to be coined, and, being well supported in the moment of enthusiasm, took some fortresses from the Genoese, and declared them banished from Corsica, under the pain of death if they should ever again set foot in the island. The Genoese, on their part, set a price on the head of the new monarch, an infamous resource, too common in republics, because they are not afraid of reprisals.

1738. The aid, which king Theodore had brought, was very inconsiderable, but he promised to his



new subjects assistance of much greater importance. They expected it, with confidence, for some time ; but their hopes, at length, seemed to vanish, and were succeeded by impatience. Apprehending that some bad consequence might ensue from the murmurs of the people, which began to break out, the monarch declared that he would himself go in search of succour. He accordingly set sail, sent provisions to the island from time to time, and returned with a vessel, richly laden with necessaries, for which he was to give in exchange commodities of the island ; but, as he possessed none of its productions, he found himself much embarrassed when the captain demanded payment. Theodore freed himself, therefore, from his importunities, by causing him to be assassinated.

Though this barbarous action did great hurt to his reputation, he maintained himself, for some time, by the wise regulations which he established. A storm, however, more dangerous than the murmurs of a few malcontents, was raised up against him. As the baron de Newhoff had arrived the first time in an English vessel, the French imagined that the British government had some designs on Corsica, and they thought it good policy to anticipate their views. The Corsican monarch being informed of their intention, again embarked, in order to procure provisions in Holland. On his passage, he was exposed to the

danger of a plot, formed for delivering him up to the Genoese, along with the ship, which was to carry back ammunition to his kingdom. When he returned, he found the whole island in the hands of the French, who had subdued it as much by persuasion as force. The monarch, in great distress, escaped as fast as possible, and after wandering about from port to port, making vain promises, while his hopes were still deceived, he retired to England, where he contracted debts and was thrown into prison.

In this state he continued several years, vainly invoking the commiseration of the public, and causing the most pressing solicitations to be dispersed. These in part succeeded, and he received a few sums which satisfied his creditors and procured him liberty. He appeared sensible of the kindness shewn to him; but his misfortunes had thrown a veil over his mind. The only thing capable of dispelling his gloomy ideas, was to speak to him of the Corsicans. His affection for these islanders ought to entitle him, in some measure, to their gratitude. His epitaph expresses, in a few words, the whole events of his life. He was buried at London, where the following sentence is inscribed on his simple tombstone. "Fate gave me a kingdom, but denied me bread."

The French, like the Germans, attempted to effect an accommodation between the Corsicans and the Genoese. The islanders agreed to abide

by the decision of the Most Christian King; but when they were called on to sign the treaty, which placed them under the yoke of their ancient masters, they accompanied their consent with the following words: "Against our own will, and with as much reluctance as if we were going to death." A submission of this kind could not be lasting. When the French, therefore, withdrew their troops, the islanders put themselves in a posture of defence against the Genoese, and appointed as their chief a nobleman, named Gaffori, who having already escaped from the chains of his enemies, entertained against them that hatred which he had imbibed with his mother's milk; and, by his words and actions, communicated the same sentiments to the hearts of his countrymen.

Gaffori was a man of intrepidity, and resolute in his designs. Having laid siege to a fortress, the Genoese, by whom it was defended, made a sortie, and took one of his children, then at the breast. They had the baseness to threaten that if the father did not order the firing to cease, they would expose the child on the walls; and they were so cruel as to put their threat into execution. Gaffori being more attached to his country than to his family, continued his fire; but very fortunately the child was not hurt. The Corsican general made himself master of the fortress, and the whole shame remained with the



Genoese. As they were not able to overcome this brave officer, by open force, they caused him to be assassinated.

1755. After the death of Gaffori, the Corsicans fell into a state of anarchy, or absolute want of government. They were at a loss what course to pursue; but they at last made choice of magistrates, a bad kind of administration, at a time when they had need of a dictator, rather than of a senate. Clement Paoli, one of these magistrates, who was sensible of this inconvenience, had a brother at Naples, named Pascal, who sought shelter there, after distinguishing himself in his country by exploits, which made the Genoese consider him as a person dangerous to their views. For this reason, when the French brought about an accommodation between them and the Corsicans, they stipulated that Pascal Paoli should be banished. Being recalled by his brother Clement, who had prepared every thing for his return, he was received by the people with great joy, and appointed general. This dignity, more burthensome than honourable, excited the envy of several competitors, over whom he obtained a complete triumph, though they had the advantage of being supported by the arms and intrigues of the Genoese.

Paoli conducted himself so well, both in the council and the army, that he gave great uneasiness to the Genoese. Their fear, therefore, in-

duced them to send a solemn deputation, commissioned to offer peace, and to enter into a treaty; but it met with a bad reception. The Corsicans would listen to no proposals, unless they were acknowledged as a free and independent nation. They were encouraged to this measure by some of their countrymen, who in harangues, which displayed great enthusiasm, held out to them the charms and attractions of liberty. To fire their breasts with the noble love of glory, Paoli desired all the clergymen to give in a list of the names of those who had lost their lives in defending their country, and caused them to be inscribed in tables which were hung up in the most public places. Patriotic zeal produced actions superior to what could have been hoped. The general enrolled all the inhabitants fit to bear arms; disciplined his troops; caused money to be coined, and formed a council which issued wise regulations respecting the taxes and other parts of administration. Paoli traversed the island, having his sword in one hand and the law in the other; and was every where feared and respected.

He was just ready to give solidity to all these <sup>1764</sup> establishments, when he learned that the Genoese, still furiously bent on getting possession of their prey, had entered into a treaty with France, and obtained assistance from that country. On the arrival of the French troops, Paoli, instead of vigorous resistance, which he was no longer able

to shew, employed caution and political prudence. He listened, therefore, to proposals for peace; but they were not attended with success, because the Corsicans always insisted, as a preliminary, on the acknowledgment of their independence. The French negotiators descended to conditions, which they thought equitable and moderate; which were that the Genoese should be contented with homage, and the sovereignty of a few places. The Corsicans, however, adhered to their resolution of not suffering foreigners to remain masters of their island.

But they were at last obliged to give way, when it was signified to them that the Genoese had renounced their right to the island, in favour of the French, with whom they had entered into a treaty. The Corsicans, however, did not immediately submit to the law imposed on them. They defended themselves, and even obtained some advantages; but Paoli being continually harassed, was obliged to abandon his country, which he held so dear. He escaped in an English ship, which had been provided to carry him off, when matters should be brought to the last extremity. His arrival at Leghorn had the appearance of a triumph rather than of a flight. The English vessels in the harbour displayed their flags, and fired a grand salute; while the people ran in crowds to the mole to behold the illustrious defender of Corsica.



This island, so long disputed, was, in the year 1769, thus brought under the French dominion, as a part of the kingdom, much to its advantage, as it was never able to be its own mistress, and it will be happy if the French are its last masters.

### PARMA AND PLACENTIA.

THE Roman republic, that colossal edifice, when it crumbled to pieces, overspread Italy, as we may say, with materials which served to construct others of different proportions. It is proper, therefore, to give a short view of these petty states, the political existence of which exhibits vicissitudes not uninteresting. The author of nature appears with no less wonder in the mite than in the elephant.

Parma and Placentia, between Pavia, the Milanese, the state of Genoa, and the duchy of Modena.

Parma and Placentia, two states united, and which have scarcely ever been separated, though of small extent, present a fertile soil, and excellent pastures, which afford nourishment to numerous herds of cattle. As this part of Italy lies at the bottom of the Appenines, it is well watered. It contains salt-pits and minerals. Parma exhibits several curious monuments, among which is a theatre, accounted the most beautiful of Italy. The churches are spacious, and well ornamented. The inhabitants have a taste for

the arts; but they are accounted indolent. It is remarked that they are not infected with the vice of jealousy like the other Italians. The Parmesan and Corregio rendered Parma illustrious by their pencil. Placentia acquired its name from the agreeableness of its situation. To this gift of nature, it has added master-pieces of art, capable of gratifying the curious eye: such as the ducal palace, which contains a great number of rare articles, and two statues of bronze, representing Farnesian princes, admired by connoisseurs.

After having formed part of the exarchate of Ravenna, then of the kingdom of the Lombards, and afterwards of the empire of Charlemagne and his successors, Parma and Placentia were erected into republics about the year 1180. They were governed by magistrates, named consuls. The administration of justice was entrusted to a podestat, who sometimes interfered in the government, though a foreigner was elected to the office, in order that he might have less influence in the administration. This small republic was frequently at war with its neighbours. Mercantile interest and family quarrels were sufficient to induce the people to take up arms; and their battles, though fought by inconsiderable bodies, were often bloody.

The factions of the Guelphs and the Ghibelines, that is to say, the imperial and papal, exercised

their fury in Parma and Placentia. The emperor Frederick caused his party to maintain there a superiority, and expelled all the families who did not support it. After this expulsion, he even ordered one hand and one foot of all those of whom he entertained suspicions to be amputated, and sent them away in this mutilated state. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, a noble Parmesan, named Giberto, at that time podestat, made himself master of the supreme authority. He retained it six years, during two of which he rendered the people happy; but he abused his power during the other four. Recourse was then had to a foreign podestat. Frandelata, brought from Pistoia, held the office during the mania of the flagellants. He acquired great consideration as well as power, because he subjected himself to discipline along the streets in a very severe manner. He was imitated, and admired by the people, who did not hesitate to execute the orders of so holy a man.

In 1263 the rivalry of the two podestats, elected in opposition to each other, occasioned a civil war in Parma. A violent battle took place between them, during the tumult of which some houses were set on fire, and the flames destroyed part of the city. When the people, after three days of cruel hostilities, began to cool, they avenged themselves on those who had excited their phrenzy; expelled the competitors; took



possession of the government, and established a new order of magistrates, selected from the principal plebeians.

This government was so prosperous that the republic found itself in such a state as to be able to make peace or war with glory. A good understanding prevailed among the inhabitants; and commerce was in a flourishing condition. Parma and Placentia acted a distinguished part in the league of Lombardy, formed about 1282, to diminish the power of the emperors in Italy. As the popes were most interested in the decrease of this power, they flattered the Parmesans and Placentians, from whom they derived their succours. The latter, on their part, attached themselves to the sovereign pontiffs, and placed so much confidence in them as to receive the podestat from their hand, without, however, renouncing the popular government. For the troops there was a captain; but it sometimes happened that the command was assumed by the podestat.

In the beginning of the fourteenth century a person, named Peregrino, who according to every appearance belonged to the class of the people, united the two titles, to the great discontent of the nobility. The captain-podestat, suspecting that they had some bad intention, caused the towers and fortifications, with which they had surrounded their houses, to be pulled down. The nobility did not suffer with patience this

measure to be carried into execution. They made some resistance, but the people triumphed and expelled them, together with the bishop at their head. This expulsion gave rise to hostilities from without, and to conspiracies within. Peace was re-established by recalling such of the nobility as were least dangerous, and restoring their houses and property; but the people still retained the superiority.

The Parmesans and people of Placentia, who had hitherto been so firmly united, quarrelled, about the middle of the fourteenth century. Parma, apprehending that the Florentines would make some efforts in favour of their opponents, conferred the whole power on Gilbert Corregio, who was a great friend to the nobility, if not of that class himself. Thus fear created a master, as an ancient poet says that it created gods. Instead of combatting against Placentia, Corregio found means to gain over the nobility, and to get himself named protector. His authority experienced some opposition, and, on a certain occasion, when this happened to be the case, he abdicated the protectorship, and assumed the popular title of provost of the merchants. As soon, however, as he could lay aside his modesty, he again decorated himself with the pompous title of protector. He and his successors, under the different denominations of *podestats*, *captain-consuls* and others of the like kind, enjoyed for about a

hundred years absolute authority in Parma and Placentia. These two cities even lost the name of republic.

At length, in 1510, pope Julius II. pretended to prove to Maximilian, the grand-father of Charles V. that Placentia had been given to the holy see by Charlemagne; and that it was besides a dismembered part of the states of the countess Matilda, granted by her to the apostolic see. The emperor, who only required to be persuaded, readily acknowledged Julius proprietor of Placentia. This pope, who was not very scrupulous, adjudged Parma also to himself, because it suited his purpose. Paul III. finding these two cities in his possession, made them over to Louis Farnese, his natural or legitimate son; for some authors say that he had been privately married in his youth,

Octavio

1547.

Alexander

1586.

Ranuce I.

1592.

This vicious and debauched prince was assassinated, and left to his son Octavio his small states, diminished by the loss of Placentia, which had been seized by the emperor, who refused to restore it, notwithstanding the entreaties of Octavio, who was his son-in-law. Octavio is known only by having been the father of Alexander Farnese, celebrated by his exploits in France. As a grateful acknowledgement for his service in the Low Countries, Philip II. restored to him Placentia. Under his son Ranuce I. Parma and Placentia enjoyed peace; but under Odoard or Edoard,



these two cities experienced the fate of all petty states which are compelled to enter into the quarrels of the great.

Odoard having thought proper to espouse the part of the French, his territories were ravaged by the Spaniards. Being delivered from the latter by a treaty, he was involved in a war with the pope. The subject of dispute was not the possession of a kingdom, but the proprietorship of a few villages or acres of land. All the art and cunning of the most profound policy were, however, displayed in the negotiation which took place on this subject. Ranuce II. the son of Odoard, acted a distinguished part in a theatre of very small extent. He was a great prince, since he enriched his subjects, and found means to render them happy. His son Francis having no male children, married his daughter Elizabeth to his brother Anthony. The latter when he became possessor of Parma and Placentia, by the death of his brother, was a melancholy witness to the dispositions made before his death, which, by an arrangement between different powers, adjudged his states after that event to the Spanish branch of the Bourbons. Don Carlos took possession of them in 1731, and ceded them, in 1749, to his brother Don Philip, who was succeeded by his son Don Ferdinand in 1765.

Odoard,  
1622.  
Ranuce II.  
1646.  
Francis,  
1694.  
Anthony,  
1727.

## FERRARA, MODENA, AND REGGIO.

Ferrara, between Mantua, Bologna, Romagna, and the Gulph of Venice. Modena, between Mantua, Tuscany, Bologna, and Parma. Reggio, near Modena.

A GREAT deal or very little may be said of Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio, according to the manner in which the history of these cities is considered. If we survey them as annalists, curious in rare and interesting events, nothing can be more barren. If we wish to make genealogical researches, we shall find enough to satisfy us, in the uninterrupted succession of the house of Est, which has possessed these states, since Azzo, the head of the family, whose death is placed about the year 970. The greater part of these princes lived as virtuous individuals, whose chief pleasure consisted in rendering those around them happy. Some of the younger branches, who possessed little fortune, acquired reputation in the military service, and obtained honourable appointments in foreign nations. One thing in favour of the princes of Est is, that when the popes undertook to recover the states of these princes, as fiefs and possessions of the church, the Ferrarese and Modenese, with the inhabitants of Reggio, Calvi, Mirandola, and all the neighbourhood, always opposed the pretensions of the sovereign pontiffs, and preferred remaining under the dominion of their ancient lords.

The family of Est, which according to some came from Germany, and according to others was descended from a family already illustrious in Italy, in the tenth century, but protected by the emperor Otho I. does not afford us any exact and continued descent till after the time of Azzo, or Athon VI. or Azofin, qualified as marquis of Est in 1196. By the good understanding which he maintained with the emperors and popes, he procured from these two powers an augmentation to his states in the marquisate of Ancona. He left the peaceable possession of them to his son Aldobrandin I. who having only one daughter, they devolved to his brother Azzo VIII. called *Novello*, or the Young, who experienced a revolt of his subjects, and was expelled from Ferrara, but afterwards returned. As he had no children, he was succeeded by his nephew Obifon II. Two of his brothers, named Francis and Aldobrandin, wished that his states might be divided; but they renounced their pretensions by an argument, which, according to every appearance, did not appease the resentment of Azzo; for having no legitimate children, he gave his states to Foulques, the son of one of his bastards, whom he put in possession during his life-time.

The nephews, Renaud and Obifon, the sons of Aldobrandin, did not suffer this preference with patience. They took up arms, and the two parties were alternately supported by the popes

Azzo VI.  
1196.  
Aldobrandin I. 1212.  
Azzo VII.  
1215.  
Obifon II.  
1264.  
Azzo VIII.  
1293.  
Foulques,  
1308.

Renaud and  
Obifon III.  
1317.  
Aldobrandin III.  
1352.  
Nicholas  
II. 1361.



Albert,  
1388.

and the Venetians, but at last the nephews got the better of the bastard. Obifon furvived his brother, and left a numerous progeny by his mistress, who had become his lawful spouse. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Aldobrandin II. but, though the latter left an heir, named Obifon, Nicholas, the uncle of the young prince, and son of Obifon III. seized his brother's states, to the prejudice of his nephew, and was imitated by his

Nicholas III.  
1393.  
Lionel,  
1441.

brother, Albert. The nobility made some attempts against him, in favour of Obifon, but they were attended with so little success, that he was able to leave his sovereignties to Nicholas III. a child nine years of age, whose minority, owing to the protection of the Venetians, was not exposed to trouble. This prince had a great share in the wars by which Italy was agitated in his time. He was much esteemed by the neighbouring princes; but his eminent qualities could not avert a fate from which the guard who watches at the barriers of the Louvre does not defend kings. He caused to be beheaded his second wife Parafina de Malatesta, and Hugh his natural son, who were convicted of a criminal correspondence. As his two legitimate sons were infants at the time of his death, he left his states to Lionel, one of his natural sons, of whom he had four.

Borso, 1450.  
Hercules I.  
1471.  
Alphonso,  
1505.

Lionel was succeeded by another natural son of Nicholas, named Borso, who procured to the marquisates of Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio,

from pope Sixtus IV. the title of duchy. After him, the legitimate line resumed its right in the person of Hercules, son of Nicholas, who was succeeded by his son, Alphonso. The latter had to defend the integrity of his states against three popes, Julius II. Leo X. and Clement VII. who endeavoured to deprive him of Ferrara and Modena. It was with great difficulty he could save them from their rapacious claws, if we may use that expression, according to the medal which he caused to be struck, after the death of Leo X. On one side was represented a man tearing a lamb from the claws of a lion, with this inscription, *de manu Leonis*. He married the celebrated Lucretia Borgia, the daughter of Alexander VI. and was her fourth husband.

She brought him three sons, of whom Hercules, the youngest, was his successor. He defended, for a long time, the full sovereignty of his states, free and independent, against the pretensions of the popes; but he at length acknowledged to hold them only in virtue of the investiture granted to the princes of his family, by Alexander VI. and which was renewed, in his favour, by Paul III. in 1539. His son, Alphonso II. caused Tasso to be confined in an hospital for lunatics, because he shewed too openly that he was fond of Leonora, that prince's sister. The example of Ovid, which Tasso, as a poet, must have known, had not rendered him prudent.

Hercules II.  
1534.  
Alphonso II.  
1559.

Cæsar I.  
1597.  
Alphonso  
III.  
Francis I.  
1629.

Cæsar, the grandson of Alphonso I. to whom the deceased prince had bequeathed his states, did not get possession of them without being opposed by Clement VIII. who pretended that they had devolved to the holy see, because the direct line was extinct. The efforts of the pope obliged Cæsar to cede Ferrara, which the pontiff united to the domains of the church. The duke, after this dismemberment, retired to Modena, where he established his residence. His son, Alphonso III. was ill calculated to recover Ferrara, which had been wrested from his father, since he abdicated Modena, by becoming a capuchin. As a monk he possessed great fervour, and died in the course of a mission. It is remarked of his son, Francis I. that in the course of the long and frequent wars in which he was involved, by his connection, sometimes with the French and sometimes with the Spaniards, he always spared the holy places and sacred things, and punished with severity those who were deficient in respect towards them.

Alphonso  
IV. 1658.  
Francis II.  
1662.  
Renaud,  
1692.  
Francis Ma-  
ria, 1737.  
Hercules  
Renaud.

The two succeeding princes, Alphonso IV. and Francis II. the son and grandson of Francis I. both died young of the gout. As the latter left no children, his states fell to his uncle Renaud, the son of Francis I. This prince, as well as Francis Maria, his son, was almost always harassed by the surrounding powers. Both, expelled from their states, were obliged to retire into some



of those in the neighbourhood, and returned to their capital, sometimes by treaties and sometimes unconditionally. The people never appeared to have much affection for these princes, who, on the other hand, shewed great indifference towards them.

## BOLOGNA.

BOLOGNA is surnamed the Fat. This epithet indicates the fertility of its soil. The Tuscans, who built this city, were expelled from it by the Gauls; and the latter experienced the same fate from the Romans, who left in it a colony. It formed a part of the exarchate of Ravenna. Charlemagne established in it counts and marquises. About 962 it became a free city, governed by a senate, divided into three councils; one special, another general, and a third called the *Council of Credit*. The senate was chosen from the ablest and most respectable part of the citizens. This form of government, therefore, was aristocratic.

Bologna, in  
the Ecclesi-  
astical states

The chief or president of these councils was called pretor. Gerard, the bishop, acquired so much esteem, about the year 1192, as to get two different authorities united in his person. No sooner was it effected than the nobility repented, because they saw that the prelate was inclined to

give power to the people. They, therefore, banished him, and chose in his stead a foreign pretor. As they were as much dissatisfied with the latter as they had been with the bishop, they got rid of him also, but with more violence; for having substantial proof that he had suffered himself to be corrupted, according to every appearance, by feasting and good cheer, the Bolognese, before they expelled him, caused all his teeth to be pulled out.

Bologna, for a long time, was destitute of justice and order. The people, therefore, had no other method of protecting themselves against oppression than to convert their houses into fortresses, by means of towers with which they surrounded them. The wife of a Bolognese, however, named Garisenda, found out a better expedient than these fortifications. Her husband having been expelled from the city by a hostile faction, remitted money to her, during his exile, in order that she might cause his house to be fortified. When the period of his banishment was expired, he expected to return home as to a citadel; but, when he arrived, he in vain sought for the fortifications he had ordered. As he saw none, he reproached his wife for her negligence; but Garisenda, laying hold of his hand, conducted him into a large court, where he found a multitude of citizens, whom she had gained over by donations. "There," said she, "there are the best

“ means of defence, and they are at your service.  
“ Make use of them.” He followed her advice,  
and expelled his enemies in their turn.

Bologna, after being under the power of a pretor, became subject to that of a podestat. The management of the police must have been a matter of difficulty in a city which contained ten thousand students of law. This concourse was attracted by the reputation of the professors. As Bologna received considerable advantage from this multitude of consumers, it liberally rewarded the masters and procured men of the greatest talents, whose celebrity filled the schools. It does not appear that the tranquillity of the city was interrupted by this crowd of young men, because they were restrained by prudent regulations. This city was exposed from time to time to revolutions in its government; but they were effected without any commotion. In 1228, twenty-four assessors, named elders, were joined to the pretor, and two councils were established. One of them consisted of these elders, the consuls of the merchants, the masters of the body of goldsmiths and armourers, the most important trades no doubt in the city, the gonfaloniers of the people, and their counsellors. The second was called the grand, because it admitted almost the whole people. The Bolognese then assumed the following republican title: The Community and People of Bologna.



As Parma suffered itself to be ruled by a flagellant, Bologna allowed itself to be tintured with enthusiasm by a preacher, named John de Vicenza. That he should have assumed an ascendancy over the people is not astonishing; but there is reason to be surprised at the power which he arrogated over the podestat and the magistrates, in such a manner that he became absolute master of the government. He gave liberty to all the debtors detained in prison, and freed them from their debts. He revised the laws, and made changes in them according to his own pleasure. He preached one day with so much vehemence against usury, that the people, hurried away by their zeal, ran to plunder the house of an usurer in the neighbourhood. It would have been much better, though attended with more difficulty, if the fruit of this sermon had been the conversion of the usurer, with ample restitution.

In 1225, a captain of the people was created; and, as appears, to oppose the podestat, who had become too much devoted to the nobility. Thus the government assumed a form half aristocratic and half democratic. The mild character of the Bolognese rendered them exceedingly fit for this mixture. They lived in a state of peace which excited the admiration of their neighbours. Their justice inspired such confidence that they were often chosen as arbitrators by the states

around them. One of their citizens, named Bentivoglio, who attempted to forge chains for them, converted his house into a citadel and began to govern in a despotic manner, but his sovereignty lasted only two days: he was assassinated, and the fortress was demolished.

Every kind of government, however, was not disagreeable to the Bolognese: they only wished it to be mild and accepted without violence. Such was that of the popes, to which they submitted about 1578. They sometimes rejected it; but they always returned to submission. They still live under the same laws; and the sovereign pontiffs take care to render themselves agreeable. They have preserved to the Bolognese their senate and their privileges, and they take great care to send thither, as governors, prelates, the best qualified to secure to the holy see the attachment and esteem of the people. Thus Bologna, without being entirely free, enjoys the principal appendages of liberty: peace and security.

## MILAN.

THE Milanese, of all the Italian countries, is the most agreeable, in regard to the conveniences of life. The climate, mild and temperate, is subject neither to intense heat nor excessive cold. Its situation, in the centre of Italy, has exposed it

The Milanese, between Piedmont, the country of the Grisons, the Venetian states, Mantua, and Genoa.

to a burthenfome diftinction, as none of thefe countries have fuffered more from the ravages of war; but, fo great is the fertility of its foil, that a fhort period of peace is fufficient to reftore to it all the honours and advantages of abundance. The induftry of the people is equal to the generofity of nature, and makes the balance of commerce incline in favour of the Milanefe. Milan is celebrated on account of its population, its beautiful edifices, and, particularly, the dome of its principal church; the Ambrofian library, replete with manufcripts and ornamented with a collection of paintings by the beft mafters, accompanied with a collection of medals and philofophical inftruments; an obfervatory, and a botanical garden. For this fuperb eftablifhment, the city was indebted to cardinal Frederick Borromeo. At Milan, the nobility are generous, magnificent, and hofpitable; the people mild and affable: but they muft neither be offended by rudeneff of manners, nor by the impofition of heavy taxes. Want of precaution in this refpect has often excited commotions.

The fchool of Milan, named the Lombard fchool, has produced excellent painters. The belles-lettres are cultivated here with fuccefs, as well as the mathematical fciences. Commerce is flourifhing. A confiderable trade is carried on in raw and wrought filk, gold and filver lace, embroidery, thread lace, and other objects of lux-



ury. The fertility of the soil in producing fruits, pulse, corn, and pastures for feeding cattle, is so great, that the Milanese, after reserving what is necessary for their own consumption, leave a considerable surplus for exportation. The principal cities of the state of Milan are Pavia, secured against ignorance and violence by an university and a citadel; Lodi, which furnishes excellent cheese; Cremona, Como, Novara, Vigevano, Mortara, Cortona, and Bobio. There is not one of these cities which does not afford some object capable of gratifying the curious or those fond of dainties. Alexandria acquired its name, not in remembrance of the conqueror of Asia, but of pope Alexander III. who contributed to its foundation.

That of Milan may be traced back to the highest antiquity. It was the capital of Insubria, and a place of some note at the time of the irruption of Brennus and Bellovesus, the first of the Gauls who rendered themselves formidable in Italy. The Romans treated the Milanese with great harshness, as they suspected the sincerity of their friendship. Out of revenge, the Milanese gave support to Annibal, who gained his first battle on the Tesino, in their neighbourhood. They were, however, punished for their attachment to the Carthaginian. Their country was one of the first reduced into a Roman province, though never thoroughly subdued. The least pretence, during the civil wars and under the emperors, was suffi-

cient to induce them to shake off the yoke. The christian religion was introduced here about the year sixty after the birth of Christ, but it was long in a languishing condition. Its church, afterwards, produced great men: St. Ambrose, one of its archbishops, is celebrated on account of his eminent virtues and learning.

About the end of the fifth century, Milan was taken possession of by Odoacer, king of the Heruli, from whom it was wrested by Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, who established in it his court; but this did not prevent the Burgundians from rendering themselves masters of it during an irruption which they made into Italy. Theodoric pretended that Milan and other cities had not defended themselves as they ought, and, for that reason, he deprived them of their privileges; but he restored them at the request of the bishops, who are represented as pious, benevolent prelates, who employed their riches only for the relief of their diocesans, and who, on this occasion, redeemed, with their own money, the prisoners taken by the Burgundians.

Theodoric celebrated his stay at Milan by an act of severe justice. A widow having complained to him that she had not been able in the course of three years to obtain a decision in a lawsuit, which she carried on against a magistrate, the monarch called the judges and said: "If you do not conclude this affair to-morrow, I shall ad-

“ minister justice myself.” The judges terminated the process next day. Theodoric then sent for them again, and addressed them as follows :  
“ Why did you prolong for three years an affair  
“ which has cost you only a few moments con-  
“ sideration?” After this reproach, he ordered them all to be beheaded.

The Milanese, dissatisfied with the government of Vitiges, one of the successors of Theodoric, begged Belisarius to assist them to expel the Goths. The latter were indeed repulsed ; but they returned in great force and massacred all the inhabitants, to the number, it is said, of three hundred thousand. Nothing remained of Milan but a heap of ruins, from which it was revived, in 559, by Narses, the successor of Belisarius. When it began to be in a flourishing condition, it submitted to the Lombard kings, afterwards to Grimoald, duke of Benevento, and then returned to the Lombards, until their monarchy was destroyed by Charlemagne. The sovereignty of Milan was enjoyed by archbishops, being either conferred on them by that prince or usurped ; but the government was left in the hands of two consuls appointed by these prelates. It appears, however, that at the end of the tenth century the people of Milan were not destitute of authority ; and that they could ill brook a state of dependence. The mere threat of building a citadel to serve as a check on the city, cost the life of the



duke of Swabia, who had been sent thither by the emperor to recover his ancient power.

The archbishops wished always to rule and were supported by the nobility; but the people rejected the crossier, which had become oppressive. In 991, a battle was seen, for the first time, in the city, from which the prelate and the nobility were expelled; but, the people being appeased, they were again suffered to return. Tranquillity prevailed for some time; but, among combustible matter, the least spark is sufficient to produce a conflagration. A nobleman having struck a citizen, the people flew to his assistance, and bound themselves by an oath to unite in their own defence. A like agreement was entered into by the nobles, who being the weaker party, were obliged to quit the city to which they laid siege. The blockade continued three years, and ended in a pacification, such as can take place between persons who rather fear than love each other.

Besides the improper haughtiness of the nobility, one of the principal causes of the discontent of the people was, the depravity of the clergy belonging to the cathedral. This scandalous immorality was severely attacked by two deacons, men of exemplary lives, named Landulph and Artaldo, who though not destitute of eloquence, thought proper to employ against those whom they wished to reform more uncommon means. A simoniac having accused Landulph of being ac-

uated by improper motives, the deacon, pulling off his clothes, subjected himself to a severe flagellation, and the sight of his lacerated body produced more effect on the people than the best answers. Luitprand, a priest, associated with the two deacons in their pious intentions, declaiming with ardour against the incontinency of a clerk, and finding himself at a loss for proofs, ordered two piles of faggots to be prepared, and when they were completely on fire, he passed between them, it is said, without the least injury. Neither he nor the companions of his enthusiastic zeal were, however, invulnerable: Luitprand was surprised by the emissaries of the clergy, who cut off his nose and his ears; Artaldo was assassinated, and Landulph died in consequence of the wounds and laceration occasioned by the discipline to which he had subjected himself. But either voluntarily or by force, the archbishop and his canons, upon whom the reproaches chiefly fell, became reformed.

Milan is allowed to have had the honour of giving the signal of liberty to Italy, in 1106. This city dismissed the imperial officers; created two consuls, and made choice of several magistrates for the administration of justice, of war, and the finances. Thus the republican government was established. The emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, being greatly incensed at the example of independence given by this city, directed against it

all his forces. The Germans cut down the trees; tore up the vines; ravaged the whole surrounding country, and closed up, at a distance, all the avenues which conducted to it. A populous city, attacked in this manner, could not long hold out. Milan, hard pressed by famine, surrendered on very severe terms. The emperor deprived it of all its privileges, and required over and above, that the archbishop and the clergy, with their relics, the consuls, and the nobility in dresses of ceremony, barefooted, with swords placed to their throats, and the people with ropes about their necks, should repair to his camp to ask pardon. To render this penance more painful, he removed to the distance of a league and a half, and made the suppliants pass between the ranks of his soldiers, who were drawn up under arms.

There can be no doubt that resentment, on account of a punishment so humiliating, must have remained deeply imprinted in the hearts of the Milanese. When they thought they had acquired sufficient force, they avenged themselves, not only by shaking off the yoke, but also by expelling from the city the empress, mounted on an ass, with her face turned towards the tail. The emperor swore that such a spectacle should never again be exhibited in Milan; and, in order that his threat might be fulfilled, when he retook the city, he rased it to the foundation; caused the plow to pass over it, and sowed the ruins with salt.



There is reason, however, to think that the prince vented his fury only on the walls, since there are still found at Milan monuments anterior to that event. When freed from these boundaries, the inhabitants enlarged their circumference; and, contrary to the intention of Frederick, Milan became still larger.

It recovered also a part of the sovereignties and jurisdictions which it had possessed; and rendered several cities subject to its authority. The administration of this state required honourable employments, which were at the same time lucrative. As these were entirely engrossed by the nobility, the plebeians insisted on having a part, and this made the first subject of dispute. An ancient Lombard law, which gave to the nobles the privilege of being punishable only by a fine, when they had killed one of the people, formed the second cause; because the nobility wished to reduce to a mere fine the punishment of a noble murderer, while the people demanded that he should be put to death. The people attempted to seize the criminal; but as he was defended by the nobility, they flew to arms, and chose for their leader one Martin Turriani. This chief expelled from the city the whole faction of the nobles, as well as the archbishop, by whom they were supported. As the prelate died during his exile, Turriani and the clergy thought themselves authorised to appoint his successor. A candidate

being named by each, that of Turriani was about to prevail, when one of the pope's legates, then in the city, fearing that the authority of the captain might acquire too much preponderance by the influence of the archbishop, who would be indebted to him for his elevation, exhorted the people to make sure of the election.

They accordingly chose Otho Visconti, born in the small village of Invari, near Lake Major, of a respectable though not opulent family. Visconti from his youth had attached himself to the court of Rome, where he procured esteem, both by the elegance of his manners, and the solidity of his judgment. He was employed in affairs of the utmost importance, and, when the archbishoprick of Milan became vacant, was thought a fit person to hold the balance between the factions of Turriani and Sepri, by which the city was divided.

Martyr de  
la Torr ,  
1257.  
Philip de la  
Torr ,  
1263.  
Napi or Na-  
paleone,  
1265.

La Torr  was an avowed enemy of the nobility, to whom he did every injury in his power. His brother Philip, by whom he was succeeded, suffered them to breathe; but the hatred against them was revived under Napi or Napaleone, the successor of Philip. In consequence of his natural inclination to mildness, and in obedience to the rules of policy, Visconti declared himself for the oppressed. This predilection gave offence to Napi, who compelled the archbishop to quit the city, with the most distinguished of his clients;

but the prelate had already procured there a great many partisans among the people, by his beneficence and other noble qualities. This attachment, however, did not prevent these people under the yoke of Napi from suffering arms to be put into their hands against Visconti, for whom they secretly offered up vows.

Napi being master of the whole forces of the Milanese was always victorious; but as he thought he should never be secure in his authority while he had to combat against the intrepidity and resources of Visconti, he set a price on his head. This act of barbarity excited murmurs in Milan. The captain perceived that he was beginning to lose the confidence of the citizens, and being about to quit the city, in order to meet Visconti, who was advancing at the head of an army collected by the exiles, he left behind him a strong garrison to restrain the people. Fortune proved still favorable to him; but he made a cruel use of his victory. Thirty-four of the nobility, among whom was a nephew of Visconti, having been taken with arms in their hands, Napi caused their heads to be struck off, and sent their bodies to Milan to be deposited in the tombs of their ancestors. The people were much affected by the funeral procession, and might perhaps have risen against the executioner, had not his brother, whom he left in the city, kept them quiet through fear. The latter, on his part, filled the prisons



with those whom he suspected, and marked each day by some bloody execution. Visconti, when he heard of these atrocities, said: "I have no doubt now that the Turriani, as a punishment for their barbarity, will one day experience a fatal reverse of fortune."

It indeed ceased to be unfavourable to Visconti, though it sometimes abandoned his standards; but he did not suffer himself to be discouraged. When destitute of money, and deprived often by the fate of arms of his partisans and friends, his merit and reputation acquired him new followers, eager to distinguish themselves under his command. Though almost sixty years of age, he shewed great vigour both of body and mind. He was admired for his unshaken firmness under misfortune; his great penetration as a general and a statesman, and the talent of creating circumstances and taking advantage of favourable opportunities. It was impossible that such great talents should not in the end overcome the ferocious bravery of Napi, especially as it did not appear to be accompanied with the vigilance necessary for a chief. He suffered himself to be surprised while indulging in the bottle with his friends, and was taken prisoner. His life was spared, if it can be called life, to be shut up in an iron cage without any hope of ever being set at liberty. He died in this state, at the end of two years. The war was continued under the com-

mand of his son Caffoni; but though a good general, he experienced checks that terminated in a decisive battle in which he was killed.

In the mean time, Visconti had been received in Milan with every demonstration of joy. He is accused of not having sufficiently suppressed his resentment against the Turriani, and of having stained his triumph by punishments. His severity, instead of destroying the faction of the Turriani, gave it more strength, in consequence of that pity, which is generally excited by the unfortunate. It, however, durst not venture to raise its head as long as the archbishop was alive; but it disputed with success the chief authority in Milan against Matthew Visconti, his nephew, whom the prelate had invested with his power.

Otho Visconti, 1277.

The Turriani having expelled him in their turn, he sought shelter with the emperor Henry VII. by whom he was kindly received. Henry considered the offers of Matthew as an excellent opportunity of causing the imperial rights to be acknowledged in Milan, where they were almost forgotten. He accordingly repaired thither with a strong army to enforce his commands. Henry affected a desire of bringing about a reconciliation between the two factions, by behaving to them both in the same manner; but his favour inclined to the Visconti, who indeed deserved it by their respectful deference, while the Turriani had in their manners something forced, which is always

Matthew Visconti, 1295.

sure of displeasing. The end of this kind of struggle between the rivals was such as it ought to have been. The artful Matthew, as he shewed a desire of holding the government of Milan under the emperor, received from him troops to maintain his authority, and by these means acquired a complete ascendancy over Turriani. Five sons, all distinguished by eminent qualities, assisted him to consolidate his power, which he left at his death to the eldest, Galeazzo I. a prince as prudent as warlike.

Galeazzo  
Visconti,  
1322.

For want of vigilance, however, he exposed his good fortune to danger. The German troops, left by the emperor to guard and defend the duke-governor, being mercenary bands, could not resist the temptation of the gold lavishly distributed among them by the contrary party, supported by the pope. While Galeazzo, in perfect security, never so much as imagined that they would be deficient in attachment during any crisis of danger, an alarm was spread through the city, and all flew to arms. The Turriani gave out that they meant to establish the popular government; and the people, seduced by this pretence, espoused their cause. As Galeazzo was not supported by the Germans, he was obliged to fly; but the troubles were not appeased by his departure. The Guelphs and the Ghibelines each wished to rule; neither party would listen to the other, and no agreement could be made in



regard to a government. In this embarrassment they unanimously resolved to recal the governor, and to restore him to full authority.

Galeazzo thought himself more honoured by the suffrages of his fellow-citizens, than he had been humbled by the success of the cabal of his enemies. But it reserved for him a blow still more sensible in regard to his family. He had a brother, named Mark Visconti, who was considered by the malcontents as a proper person to render him uneasy, in consequence of his jealous disposition. On the first notice which the duke received of the manœuvres of the intriguers, and of Mark's inclination to support them, he endeavoured to reclaim him by remonstrances. "When my brother strikes me," said he, "he does not perceive that he wounds himself." "A brother!" replied Mark Galeazzo; "he has none, since he reserves the whole power for himself alone."

The imperial crown was no longer on the head of Frederick, having passed to that of the emperor Louis. Mark, therefore, appeared before him, as the accuser of his brother, and charged him with a desire of rendering himself independent. The calumny of the faction hostile to the duke, of which Mark was only the instrument, being supported by large sums of money, an excellent method of persuasion, met with credit from the imperial council. Galeazzo who had ex-

posed himself incautiously, in order to vindicate his conduct, was arrested, together with his whole family except Mark. After being kept nine months in prison, he was found innocent; but, during his captivity, he contracted a disease which hurried him to the grave before he recovered the government of Milan.

Azon or  
Atton,  
1328.

Mark's hatred being either buried with his brother, or not sufficiently strong to overcome his desire of raising his family, he interceded so powerfully with the emperor, that he procured the government for his nephew, Azon. The person invested with it, after the death of Galeazzo, had been narrowly watched by twenty-four counselors, taken from the different classes of the citizens. These Azon suffered to exist. This council was called the regency of Milan. Mark Visconti being a man of an impetuous and fiery disposition, incapable of restraining his passions, conceived a violent affection for a beautiful lady, of noble rank, whom he tore from the arms of her husband. Believing, afterwards, that she had proved false to him, he drowned her with his own hands, but he was so tormented by remorse that he fell into a state of profound melancholy. The dismal gloom of his mind, however, did not prevent him from entertaining a desire to supplant his nephew. Ambition is sometimes the recreation of other vices. Azon got notice of his design, assembled his family, and, having found

sufficient proofs, caused Mark to be privately strangled in his bed, and the body to be thrown from a window. A report was then spread that he had jumped from the window, in a fit of phrenzy, and he was buried with great pomp and magnificence.

Azon had two other uncles, Luchini and John, <sup>1339.</sup> and, as he left no children, he was succeeded by the latter. Luchini was covered with wounds, and, entirely exhausted by the fatigues of war. Though in this state he was not afraid of marrying a young Genoese, named Fusca, of the family of Fiesco, who possessed great beauty and good sense. She, however, put his patience to severe trials. In concert with Galeazzo, her husband's nephew, she brought four sons to his family, and poisoned him because he neglected to punish her. She confessed her crimes on her death-bed. The prostitution of Fusca was so notorious, that at Luchini's death none of his reputed children presented any claim to succeed him. The government devolved on his brother John, who was at the same time archbishop.

This prelate is celebrated in the history of Genoa, which, on account of his reputation, invited him thither to calm the troubles of the republic. He was honoured with the dignity of doge. John had three nephews, the sons of his brother Stephen, who is known only by having perpetuated his family. Their names were Matthew, Ber-

John, 1349.  
Matthew II.  
Bernardo or  
Barnaby.  
1354.



nard or Barnaby, and Galeazzo. John divided amongst them the Milanese; but Matthew, the eldest, after the death of his uncle, refused to give his brothers their share. It is believed that they poisoned him; but, however this may be, it is certain that their mother, Valentina, accused them of that crime till her last moment.

Two brothers, equally ardent and ambitious, dividing an heritage without any quarrel, is a singular phenomenon in history. Galeazzo II. and Barnaby the successor of Matthew, afforded, however, this spectacle to Italy. Galeazzo, the eldest, retained Milan, and assisted Barnaby to enlarge his part. They made incursions into the territories of Bologna and Mantua, at their common expence, part of which they kept, without entirely subduing them. In these expeditions they were generally opposed by the popes, because they always marched under the banners of the emperor, for whom the Visconti were often vicars in Italy.

The alliance of Galeazzo was courted both by France and England. He gave one of his daughters in marriage to the English monarch; and we may judge, by the wedding present, how far the arts, industry, and commerce, had at that time been carried in Milan. It consisted of seventy horses of the greatest beauty, and harness embroidered with gold, silver, and silk, and ornamented with plates of embossed silver; several pieces of

massy silver plate, of exquisite workmanship; falcons, rare dogs, javelins, swords, coats of mail, cuirasses, bucklers, helmets curiously fashioned, scarfs embroidered with pearls, and a prodigious quantity of clothes and furniture filled with jewels of an immense value. The repast was so splendid and sumptuous that the remains were more than sufficient to have dined ten thousand persons.

Galeazzo, in the edifices which he constructed, displayed the most uncommon luxury and magnificence. He embellished Milan with bridges, squares, and porticoes, and strengthened it by means of a superb citadel. While we admire the palace which he caused to be built near Pavia and ornamented with rare paintings, he is to be reproached for wasting an extent of fifteen leagues, which he enclosed to afford him the pleasures of the chace. He thus deprived of their possessions several families, who did not receive a sufficient indemnification for their loss. A man who had been compelled by this tyranny to abandon the inheritance of his ancestors, endeavoured to avenge himself by stabbing the prince with a dagger; but the effects of the blow were prevented by his armour. Galeazo was fond of letters, and took pleasure in the company of learned men. He bitterly regretted that he had been neglected in his youth, and that his education had been entirely military. He took great care, therefore, of

that of his son, who, by these means, became a very great prince.

Barnaby and  
John Gale-  
azzo, 1378.

John Galeazzo was educated at college like the son of a plain citizen, and received no better allowance than his companions. His constitution was thus strengthened; and this simple kind of life gave him a habit of order and regularity which he never lost. By fixing his expences, and making him keep an exact statement of the revenues which were gradually left at his own disposal, he acquired an uncommon talent for examining accounts. His view in this respect was just; and the proofs which he gave of his ability restrained those who might otherwise have attempted to deceive him. Bodily exercises were not neglected in his education; and the case was the same in regard to politics, and those studies proper for a man destined to govern. If, in these lessons, his tutors forgot to recommend to him dissimulation, nature supplied that deficiency, and the circumstances of the time rendered it necessary.

His uncle Barnaby, who had lived on so good terms with his brother, no sooner heard of his death, than his wife's ambition, the ardour of his children, and, above all, the wants occasioned in his court by his excessive prodigality, made him covet the states of his nephew. Galeazzo being informed that his fortune and life was threatened, affected a great love of retirement and a disgust of grandeur. His only wish, he said, was to



spend the remainder of his days in solitude, entirely devoted to piety. Few persons were admitted to converse with him, and still fewer to his table. He declared that he had imposed on himself this kind of penance, until he should accomplish a religious vow, and he pretended that he was determined, after that period, to quit the world, and to embrace a religious life. He communicated with his uncle on all public affairs, and consulted him with docility and submission.

Who would not have been caught in this snare? One of Galeazzo's chief objects of devotion was the *virgin of mount Varese*, on the road to Vercelli. He gave out that he intended to undertake a journey thither; but that he would suffer no person to accompany him. Barnaby and his sons requested that they might, at least, be allowed to conduct him as far as the gate of the city, to bid him adieu. Galeazzo consented. They walked forwards together, engaged in conversation; but, after embracing and taking leave of each other, scarcely had Barnaby and his sons proceeded a few steps on their return, when they were seized and confined in a prison, which had been built by the father. Different bodies of troops, to whom previous orders had been given, took possession of all the principal posts, without the least violence or bloodshed; and Galeazzo, in a moment, became master of Milan, where he had before exercised only a timid and uncertain

authority. One person, Doninia Porta, his mistress, remained faithful to Barnaby in his disgrace. She asked leave to attend him in his confinement, but her care was not able to secure him against poison. He died in the arms of Doninia, seven months after he had been immured in prison. As Galeazzo was less afraid of his cousins, he set them at liberty, but exiled them. It is to be observed, that if this revolution was effected without bloodshed, it did not pass without pillage. The prince gave loose reins to his soldiers, in regard to the houses of those whom he knew to be favourable to his uncle. A report was spread that this disorder proceeded from Barnaby, though at that time a captive, without power, and yet the people believed it. Besides five legitimate, this prince left five natural children, who acted a distinguished part afterwards.

John Gale-  
azzo, 1385.

Galeazzo attained to a degree of prosperity which authorised him to adhere no longer to the modest title of governor of Milan, with which his predecessors had been contented, though they possessed the whole power. He obtained from Wenceslas that of duke; and this emperor sent him a sceptre and crown. These insignia were of little importance unless combined with power. That of Galeazzo extended over almost all Italy. His troops were the best armed, the best paid, and the best disciplined in Europe. By his policy and generous conduct he engaged in his service com-

manders of the greatest reputation, and even princes combatted under his banners. He dispossessed the Scaligers of Verona; retook Pavia, and reduced under his dominion Treviso and Trent, with all the mountainous district in the neighbourhood. The inhabitants of Assise and Perugia preferred his government to that of the pope; and their example was followed by the Lucchese, Pisans, and Bolognese. As the Florentines alone resisted his authority, he reduced them to such a state that they began to be apprehensive for the safety of their city; but he granted them peace at the head of an army of thirty thousand men ready to execute his orders.

It cannot be denied that John Galeazzo governed rather by fear than by love. Either through necessity or mere precaution, he had always on foot a considerable army, even in the time of peace. Milan is indebted to him for its cathedral, and Pavia for its magnificent monastery of the Carthusians. He was the father of Valentina Visconti, who brought to the duke of Orleans, her husband, a right to the duchy of Milan, which set all Italy in flames. Directed by bad policy, he divided his states between his two sons, John Maria and Philip Maria; but he deducted from them a part which he gave to a natural son, named Gabriel. Another, named Anthony, was too young to be included in the partition; but



Galeazzo by his will recommended him to his other sons.

John Maria  
Visconti,  
and Philip  
Maria,  
1402.

By this will he ordered the creation of a council of regency, and appointed tutors for his two sons, the eldest of whom was not thirteen years of age; but a man of low birth, named Barbaria, with the assistance of Francis and Anthony Visconti, the sons of Barnaby, whom he recalled from their exile, seized on the supreme authority, and having displaced the council, and the tutors, every thing began to decline. The princes whom John Galeazzo had subjected endeavoured to render themselves independent, and succeeded. A horrid state of anarchy prevailed at this time in all the cities of the Milanese. When a person was carried before any of the tribunals, the point enquired into was not whether he was guilty, but in what manner he could be condemned. To be suspected by the prevailing faction was sufficient. It is related that a judge once said to one of these unfortunate wretches: "You have given me reason to arrest you; and now it is my business to find you worthy of death."

But what raised the misfortunes of the Milanese to their greatest height was, that those young princes who ought to have inspired them with the best hopes, shewed only a disposition to wickedness and vice. It is related of John Maria that

he took a pleasure in seeing men torn to pieces by dogs. It is not even certain that they were criminals. During the minority of the two princes, the guardianship and chief authority in Milan were disputed between Charles Malatesta, lord of Rimini, and Facino Scaliger, lord of Verona; but the latter prevailed, and made himself absolute master of the Milanese. He established his residence in the citadel of Pavia, which by its situation is one of the strongest and most agreeable places in the world. He amassed there immense riches, a very small part of which he gave to his pupils John and Philip; but he suffered them to indulge in every kind of debauchery. John made such good use of this liberty that he became odious to his subjects, who considered him as an enemy to the public good, a monster, who ought to be banished from the face of the earth. A young man, whose father he had caused to be devoured by dogs, put an end to his existence by stabbing him with a poniard. His body might have remained unburied, and would perhaps have been abandoned to the dogs, as it deserved, had not a courtesan, whom he loved, taken care of it. He left to his brother Philip his states, deprived of many beautiful cities, which had been dismembered from them.

It was not without difficulty that Philip Maria got possession of the inheritance of his brother, which was disputed with him by Hector Visconti,

Philip Maria alone,  
1412.

his cousin, the son of Barnaby. Facino, his firmest support, died at the same time, but his loss fortunately turned out to his advantage. Facino left immense treasures; an army commanded by excellent officers, and a widow, named Beatrix, who was sole mistress of every thing. Though eighteen years older than Philip, who was only twenty, she suffered herself to be prevailed on to marry him, and brought him as dowery both money and men. With this aid he expelled his competitor, who had already seized on Milan; and was received there with every testimony of joy, on account of the esteem and affection which the Milanese entertained for the eldest branch of the Visconti, notwithstanding the horrid vices of the last.

Being re-established in the centre of his states, Philip began to think of uniting the extremities, which had been detached from them. Among his conquests, that of Cremona deserves to be mentioned, not so much on account of its importance, as of a singular circumstance respecting Gabrino Funduli, one of those adventurers who made themselves masters of Italian cities, and who were called their tyrants. Having received in Cremona the pope and the emperor, these princes expressed a desire of enjoying the beautiful prospect seen from the summit of the tower. Gabrino ascended along with them, and when he found himself on the platform between an old



man and another whose strength was inferior to his own, he conceived a desire of rendering himself immortal by throwing them both down from that immense height. Luckily for his guests, this whim soon left him; but it was so deeply imprinted on his mind, that being some time after condemned for his numerous crimes, his last words, on the scaffold, were that he regretted nothing so much as that this idea was not carried into execution.

Philip re-established the authority of the Visconti in Genoa. Placentia opened its gates to him, and he made himself master of Bergamo. For this success he was first indebted to Beatrix, his spouse; and afterwards to Carmagnola, a native of Savoy, his general. How he rewarded them will be seen from what follows: as soon as he ceased to have need of the duchess, he shewed her no other attention than what a woman, who marries a husband much younger than herself, may expect. She endured his neglect with patience; but Philip proceeded farther. As she had become odious to him, he wished to get rid of her; and with that view accused her of a criminal amour, of sorcery, and of having a design to murder him. Some say that she was put to the rack, in order to draw from her a confession, which she constantly refused. Her pretended accomplice, overcome by the violence of his torment, said every thing required of him. Beatrix

reproached him for his weakness, and herself for having yielded to the desire of those who wished to promote this unfortunate marriage. She retracted all the services which she had rendered to her ungrateful husband; and died protesting her innocence, which no person doubted.

In regard to his general, Carmagnola, when Philip Maria had long profited by his ability and victories, that jealousy, which was natural to him, made him listen to the insinuations of his favourites and minions, who were eclipsed by the merit of this brave man. Philip treated him with great injustice; and Carmagnola had not even liberty to complain. He quitted the service, therefore, of his ungrateful master, and entered into that of the Venetians, who placed him at the head of their troops, against the duke of Milan, with whom they were then at war. This prince dreading his talents, the happy effects of which he had experienced, caused him to be poisoned. He, however, survived this attempt; but he did not always escape the infamous stratagems of Philip.

The war against the Venetians appeared to the Milanese to be necessary for the security of their commerce. As the success of Carmagnola seemed to render Philip disgusted with it, the Milanese offered him money to induce him to carry it on. He accepted the money, and concluded a peace, without paying much regard to their interest.

After it was made he began to think of avenging himself on Carmagnola. As the fate of arms is uncertain, the latter had the misfortune to lose a battle. Philip insinuated to the Venetians that their general had treacherously suffered himself to be beat. He produced false proofs of this charge, which he caused to be considered as valid, by dispersing money with profusion among the senate. These proofs consisted in offers he had made to recal Carmagnola to his court, but to which the accused general had never returned an affirmative answer, and which, perhaps, were never made but in order to lay a foundation for this calumny. On this imputation, the unfortunate general was condemned, without so much as being summoned to appear. Not knowing that sentence of death had been passed against him, he continued to live in his usual familiar manner with the doge and the senators, who had condemned him. This security he enjoyed for some months; but, at a time when he little expected it, he was arrested in his own house. The accusation brought against him, and the pretended pieces adduced as proofs, being hastily read over to him, though he denied the charge, even when put to the rack, the sentence of condemnation was confirmed and carried into execution. A triumph as ignominious for Philip as for the venal tribunal his accomplices.

This prince was fortunate in generals. He had



in his service the ablest chiefs of those bands of adventurers who then went about through Italy, selling their services to those who gave them the best pay: such as Braccio, Piccinini, and, above all, Sforza, whose name has become illustrious in the annals of Milan. While they were gaining victories for him, he abandoned himself to the utmost luxury and effeminacy, separated from his court, and shut up in his palace with the objects of his libertinism and debauchery, which, as some historians say, were of an infamous nature. The care of public affairs was committed to people who acquired neither esteem nor respect; but, owing either to a favourable concurrence of circumstances, or to the spirit of the Milanese being entirely annihilated, he lived at peace, without any violent commotions.

His most constant enemies were the Venetians. Philip, through his own fault, had seen his general, Carmagnola, enter into their service, and he saw them also strengthened, at his expence, by Sforza, to whom he had been indebted for several victories. This general, who had been the chief of a band of adventurers, was well made, of a generous disposition, and endowed with every valuable quality, both civil and military. He was fond of Blanche, the natural daughter of Philip, who entertained an affection for him; but his distrust, occasioned by the bad faith of the duke of Milan, determined Sforza to abandon her.

He attached himself to the Venetians, who placed him at the head of their armies and found him of utility. The desire of recovering so able a general, made Philip resolve to offer him the hand of his daughter, Blanche, and the marriage was concluded along with a peace, the conditions of which Sforza balanced so well, that the Venetians had no cause to complain of his having deserted them.

This marriage made very little change in the conduct of Philip towards his son-in-law. Though he esteemed him, he never forgave him for having so much merit as to oblige him to give him his daughter. While the sentiment of esteem prevailed, he was charmed to see the husband of Blanche acquiring a splendid reputation, but when envy assumed the superiority he was not sorry to see him experience disappointments. He invoked misfortune, as we may say, for his son-in-law, in opposition to a too constant happiness, which hurt his pride and his jealousy. He obliged him, therefore, through the fear of some surprise, from which the conjugal ægis would not have secured him, to seek shelter among the Venetians, and to resume the command of their troops. He not only sent his bravest generals against his son-in-law, but even assisted the pope, and the enemies of Sforza, to seize his possessions. It is, however, remarked, that when the son-in-law was too hard pressed, the father-in-law less

fened the strength of his generals, through fear lest their success should become too decisive, and occasion irreparable losses to his daughter's husband. This conduct must appear exceedingly strange, except to those accustomed to reflect on the caprices of the human mind.

Notwithstanding these changes of disposition, esteem for his son-in-law and affection for his daughter still preserved an ascendancy over Philip. As he had no legitimate children, he appointed Blanche's husband to be his successor, and died before he could retract this arrangement by another will, which he intended to make. The crown which he left to Sforza was not free from thorns. The fruits of Philip's singular conduct, towards his son-in-law, had been that the Venetians seized on the greater part of the Milanese. In regard to the city, it was torn by factions who, at last, all united in a resolution to take advantage of the circumstances of the time, to give themselves a republican government.

Sforza took care not to shew any opposition to this design. He advanced towards Milan with the few troops left to him by his father-in-law, and made an offer of his services and soldiers to the republic, to recover the provinces which had been invaded by the Venetians. The Milanese accepted his proposal, paid his troops, and furnished him with more. He expelled the Venetians from the territories they had usurped; and



returning to Milan did not dissemble that he intended to make himself master of it. Finding the gates shut, he laid siege to the city, reduced the inhabitants to the utmost state of famine, and, at the same time, shewed them by what means they could deliver themselves from it. The idea of abundance made them lose that of liberty. The people became impatient under their sufferings, and began to threaten. The senate, fearing a sedition, entered into a treaty, and Sforza, though himself a bastard and the husband of a bastard, was acknowledged duke of Milan.

The good fortune of his father had been equally astonishing. Being employed, when a humble peasant of Cottignol, in Romagna, named Attendula, in cultivating his field, he saw a Neapolitan regiment marching past. By a kind of inspiration, he took the share from his plough, and throwing it against a tree, said: "If thou fallest, I shall labour in this field all my life-time; if thou remainest, I shall follow these soldiers." The share being retained by the branches, the peasant insisted, passed through all the degrees, always dreaded on account of his strength, and esteemed for his conduct; and at last rose to be general of the troops of the country. He then purchased an estate, got the title of count de Cottignol, and was courted by all the princes of Italy, who endeavoured to obtain his alliance. He successively married three wives, all women

Francis  
Sforza,  
1447.

of the first rank. They all brought him children, though no particular mention is made of them in history; but Lucilia de Trefano, under the title of mistress, enjoyed the preference in his heart. She was the mother of Francis and Alexander Sforza. This name was given to Attendula, because, when a soldier, he spoke of nothing but pillaging, plundering, and *taking by force*. He retained in the higher ranks the name which he had received from his comrades, and transmitted it to his family.

Francis Sforza, who inherited his father's estates, which were pretty considerable, and who became duke of Milan, by his wife Blanche, who was not legitimate more than himself, strengthened his good fortune by great alliances. He married his eldest son, Galeazzo Maria, to Bonne, daughter of the duke of Savoy; Louis the second, known afterwards under the name of the Moor, or Ethiopian, to Beatrix, of Este; and the third to a princess of Arragon. He introduced also one of his daughters into the same royal family, and another into that of Montserrat. Having every thing to fear from France, if it should attempt to make any claim, in consequence of the rights of the duke of Orleans, the son of Valentina Visconti, the daughter of John Galeazzo, he paid his court to Louis XI. whom he knew to be not much attached to his relations. This monarch, notwithstanding the remonstrances of

the house of Orleans, engaged to maintain Sforza in the duchy of Milan. He even resigned to the duke the sovereignty of Genoa, which had been just offered to him by the inhabitants. We have already seen that the monarch, when he refused their offer, consigned them to the devil. Sforza, without troubling himself much respecting the fate of the Genoese, suited himself to the circumstances of the time. He entirely suppressed that spirit of liberty, which had been excited for a moment in Milan, and left the city in a state of complete subjection to his son, Galeazzo Maria.

This prince was of a mild, weak, and pusillanimous disposition. He shewed no courage, but against the women who resisted his attacks. In this respect he often employed violence, but he was stabbed, after a tyrannical reign of ten years, by two husbands who had lost all patience. The duchy devolved to his son, John Galeazzo Maria, under the tutorship of his uncle, Louis. The tutorship had at first been refused to the latter, as a dread was entertained of his pernicious designs, but he succeeded in making himself master of it, and kept his unfortunate nephew in a state of severe captivity, till he was at length poisoned. Louis, who is said to have been called the Moor, or the Ethiopian, because his body was as black as his soul, seized the duchy, to the prejudice of a son, four years of age, left by John Galeazzo. The latter did not long afford cause of uneasiness

Galeazzo  
Maria,  
1466.  
John Gale-  
azzo Maria,  
1476.  
Louis Maria  
Sforza,  
1494.



to his uncle, who possessed great skill in the art of freeing himself from every thing which laid him under any restraint.

He found it more difficult to remove the fears excited in his breast by Louis XII. the descendant of Valentina Visconti. In order to provide a defender against that monarch, if he should take it into his head to assert his rights, the Moor caused the emperor Maximilian to give him the investiture of the duchy of Milan. When clothed with this title, he imagined himself superior to every claim, but Louis XII. did not think proper, on that account, to abandon his pretensions. On the contrary, he pursued them with ardour, entered Italy, and appeared before Milan, where he was received as a prince whose good character was already known in the city. Louis escaped and fled to the emperor, who gave him an army badly paid. The Swiss, who formed the greater part of it, being better paid by Louis XII. delivered up the Moor to the generals of that monarch. He was then transferred to France and confined in the castle of Loches, in an iron cage, where he remained ten years.

Louis XII. that he might confirm the legality of his conquest, demanded the investiture of it from the emperor Maximilian, but it was not from this prince that he had reason to apprehend being disturbed in his possession. The emperor was very indifferent in regard to the affairs of

Louis XII.  
1500.  
Maximilian  
Sforza,  
1512.  
Francis I.  
1515.

Italy, whereas they seemed nearly to affect the pope. Alarmed, on account of the power which the French, masters of the Milanese, might secure to themselves in Italy, Julius II. formed a league against them, of which he was the head and the Swiss the arms. To second the efforts of the pontiff, the emperor gave the investiture of the Milanese to Maximilian Sforza, the son of the Moor, who had taken shelter at his court, when his father was made prisoner; but, after having possessed this duchy for three years, continually harassed by Francis I. who succeeded Louis XII. he entered into a treaty with the king of France, and resigned to him all his rights to the Milanese, on condition of receiving a pension, which he went to enjoy at Paris, where he died without children.

Charles V. being always ready to oppose Francis I. remonstrated against this donation, and seized almost the whole of the duchy of Milan, but the city remained a long time in the hands of the French, as they were masters of the citadel. The governors are accused of oppression, and the French, in general, of contemptuous and petulant licentiousness, which made them be detested by the Italians. The Milanese flattered themselves for a moment with the hopes of being happier under a master, born among them, because Charles V. restored the duchy to Francis Sforza, one of the sons of Louis the Moor, but it was on

Francis Ma-  
ria Sforza,  
1521.

conditions so burthensome that this prince could not make his subjects enjoy that happiness which they expected.

Francis Sforza died at Milan, without issue, in the year 1535. Charles V. had promised to give the investiture of the duchy to the duke of Orleans, the son of Francis I. but he seized it himself, as a fief of the empire, and included it among those states which he granted to his son, Philip II. The descendants of the latter, while they occupied the throne of Spain, possessed the duchy of Milan, as an appendage of the crown. By the treaties made after the war of the Spanish succession, the duchy of Milan was given to the house of Austria, in 1714, and secured to it by a new treaty, at Vienna, in 1736. The administration is in the hands of a vice-governor, a minister of state, a senate, and officers appointed to conduct the department of police. The senate consists of a president and ten senators. Four of them are Milanese and four Tuscans. The other two places are filled by the governors of Cremona and Pavia. The senate judges in the last instance, and without the right of appeal, in all causes, civil as well as criminal.



# DUCHY OF MANTUA.

MANTUA, the capital of this duchy, is situated in a lake, or rather marsh, which renders the air unhealthful. It can be approached only by causeways, which are well fortified. Formerly, it contained fifty thousand inhabitants; but, at present, it contains no more than twenty. We must ascribe to the period of its great population those beautiful palaces, magnificent churches, paintings, and other works of art, with which it is ornamented. The surrounding district, which is level and well watered, abounds with productions of every kind.

Duchy of Mantua, between the ecclesiastical states, those of Venice, Modena, and Milan.

Mantua is supposed to have been founded three years before Rome. Three nations, Thebans, Tuscans, and Venetians, who retired to these marshes as an asylum against banditti of every kind, contributed to supply it with inhabitants. These people lived there, each according to their own laws, and had a public edifice where they assembled to discuss public affairs. Mantua, therefore, was originally a republic. It afterwards fell into the hands of the Romans, those republicans who were so great enemies to the liberty of other nations. Being involved in the civil wars, it paid dear for its attachment to Anthony. The land was given up by Augustus to

his veterans. It followed the fate of the rest of Italy, under the dominion of the Goths, Vandals, and other invading nations. As it is strong by its situation, it has oftener been surrendered than taken; and, on this account, it has not been exposed to devastation by fire and the other severities of war.

In 1220 we find a lord given to Mantua, by the emperor, Frederick II. and maintained there, in spite of the inhabitants. The brothers, uncles, nephews, and children, of this first lord, long disputed for the supreme power. They were named Passerino; and are represented as having been cruel tyrants. Under the last of them, Louis de Gonzaga, originally from Germany, and protected by the emperor, settled at Mantua. Being married to a woman of great beauty, her charms did not escape the lascivious eye of Passerino. He endeavoured to seduce her, and even threatened violence; but she informed her husband, who, in a rencounter, apparently hand to hand, killed Passerino, by giving him a blow on the temple with his fist, and having expelled his children and partisans, seized on the duchy in 1328.

This prince augmented his states, both by his arms and the favour of the emperor, Charles IV. who, in 1354, confirmed the duchy of Mantua to him and his descendants. He was succeeded by his eldest son. This prince was already advanced in life, and had three sons who disputed

Louis de  
Gonzaga,  
1328.

Guy, 1360.

Louis II.

1369.

Francis I.

1382.

for the supreme authority in his life-time. The two younger laid a plot against the eldest and put him to death. Louis, the second, did not long suffer his third brother to participate with him in authority; as he found means to get rid of him. It is said, that after being guilty of these two acts of fratricide, he endeavoured to efface the remembrance of them by the mildness of his government. His son, Francis, has been accused of poisoning his wife, who was a Visconti. This crime armed against him the neighbouring princes, and involved him in continual wars, from which he extricated himself with success.

His son, John Francis, as good a warrior as his father, obtained, in the year 1433, from the emperor Sigismund, whom he entertained with great magnificence, the title of marquis of Mantua. He envied his youngest brother, on account of some lands left by their father, which gave rise to a war. He was esteemed for his military talents, and the Venetians entrusted him with the command of their land troops. His son, Frederick, on the other hand, fought against the Venetians; and John Francis, the son of the latter, after having been, like his grand-father, a Venetian general, commanded armies against them, as his father, was taken prisoner and conducted to Venice. He was indebted for his liberty to the intercession of pope Julius II. who gave him the dignity of gonfalonier of the church.

John Francis, 1407.  
Louis III.  
1444.  
Frederick I.  
1478.  
John Francis II. 1484.



Frederick II. 1519.  
 Francis II. 1540.  
 William, 1550.  
 Vincent I. 1587.

Pope Leo X. made his son Frederick captain-general of the troops of the church, and Charles V. whom he received with great honour, in 1530, conferred on him the title of duke of Mantua. In the wars of the kings of France against the emperor, he shewed an attachment to the latter, and, as a recompence, received Montferat. His eldest son, Francis, drowned himself, while still a minor, and was succeeded by his brother, William. The latter was deformed, but made up for this bodily fault by the qualities of his mind. Great piety, taste for the sciences, and love of justice, are ascribed to his son, Vincent.

Francis III. 1612.  
 Ferdinand, 1612.  
 Vincent II. 1626.

Vincent had three sons, who successively followed each other in the government. Francis, the eldest, who did not survive his father more than nine months, left a daughter, named Mary. The other two were cardinals, but this dignity did not prevent them from marrying. Neither the first, however, named Ferdinand, nor the second, named Vincent, had any legitimate children. The latter wished to get a divorce from his spouse, Isabella de Gonzaga, his relation, who was barren, in order that he might marry the princess Mary, his niece; but his infirmities having made him adopt a more rational plan, he gave her hand to Charles, the grandson of his uncle, Frederick II. whose father was still alive.

Charles I. 1627.

The father of Frederick is reckoned among the dukes of Mantua; under the name of Charles I.

though he scarce ever resided in that city. He lived peaceably in France, where he had large possessions. His son, Charles II. the husband of Mary, was assisted by the French, in opposition to the efforts of the emperor, to get possession of his principality, which was secured to him by the treaty of Quierafque, in 1631. He left it to a son, named Charles, under the guardianship of his mother, Mary. His son, called Charles, also, was a minor, as his father had been, when he succeeded to the duchy of Mantua. In the war of the Spanish succession, he declared for France. In 1708, the Imperialists having seized on his states, he escaped to Venice, and died, the year following, at Padua, without issue, though he had been twice married. Two legal heirs, the dukes of Lorraine and Guastala, made preparations for disputing this succession, but the emperor, without giving them time, seized on Mantua, and made it part of the Austrian dominions in Italy.

Charles II.  
1631.  
Charles III.  
1637.  
Charles IV.  
1665.

END OF THE SEVENTH VOLUME.